



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Wednesday
13 October 1993

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FBIS-AFR-93-196

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OAU Official Views Somalia Conference, U.S. Withdrawal

NC1310084393 *Cairo Voice of the Arabs in Arabic* 0610 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Telephone interview with Ambassador Ahmad Hajjaj, assistant OAU secretary general, in Addis Ababa, by Fawzi al-Jundi, in Cairo, on the "Dialogue From Afar" program; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Al-Jundi] An international conference is scheduled to be held in the Ethiopian capital and OAU Headquarters in Addis Ababa, which various parties interested in improving and settling things in Somalia will attend. Do you think the meeting will be one of protocol like previous meetings, or will something new be proposed to close the file on this crisis?

[Hajjaj] I don't believe the Addis Ababa conference will simply involve protocol. There are intense consultations between President Mubarak in his capacity as OAU chairman and Ethiopian President Zenawi as chairman of the Horn of Africa Committee, which the African summit in Cairo asked to follow up the Somalia file in addition to the United Nations, the OAU, the Arab League, and the Islamic Conference Organization.

The meeting will be held at the highest level to conduct consultations, and we hope the various Somali factions will cooperate to implement the summit's proposals. Summit participants only seek the Somali people's interest and want to halt the fighting and the Somali people's bloody losses of lives and property. The Somali people have suffered enough.

[Al-Jundi] Do you believe the rival Somali factions are the only ones responsible for the deteriorating situation in Somalia, or do the international parties play a part?

[Hajjaj] I believe the international parties are responsible, because all international parties contributed units from their armies to the peacekeeping forces in Somalia. They also contributed hundreds of millions of dollars in humanitarian aid and suffered many losses. But this is not the time for blame; it is time to be frank and to agree on a concept that would preserve the Somali nation's unity and lead to stability in Somalia. We do not want to repeat what happened in the past. The Somali factions must cooperate with the international community in the interest of the Somali nation.

[Al-Jundi] Do you believe a peaceful settlement with Somali General Mohamed Farah Aidid is the ideal way to end this crisis?

[Hajjaj] We believe none of the international sides, be it the United Nations, international organizations, or the units participating in the international forces, want a military escalation; they seek a peaceful solution. The OAU hopes every Somali organization, including General Farah Aidid's, will cooperate with the United Nations and other regional organizations to implement the resolutions passed in Addis Ababa in March.

[Al-Jundi] Do you believe the OAU's role in the Somali crisis is marginal, although the crisis is at the very heart of the OAU?

[Hajjaj] We believe the OAU's role is (?most important). The OAU cooperates closely with the United Nations and often, we don't publicize our work, instead preferring quiet diplomacy. At the last African summit in Cairo, the OAU spent much time discussing the Somali problem. There are contacts among the OAU Presidency and various Somali sides and the international parties concerned, and everyone in the OAU is doing their utmost to settle the issue.

[Al-Jundi] Is the withdrawal of the U.S. forces, scheduled for March, a suitable way to settle things, or should these forces remain until a government able to take hold of things in Somalia is formed?

[Hajjaj] That depends on the circumstances of the U.S. forces, which form a major part of the UN forces in Somalia. We only hope they will not be withdrawn hastily, but with prior agreement.

The United Nations has international forces in many other places where no U.S. forces are present. Other countries may replace the U.S. forces. It is hoped, as I mentioned, that the withdrawal will be effected in a way that is agreed upon by the U.S. Administration and the United Nations and other regional organizations so that there will be a transitional period to allow Somalia to stabilize and an interim government and local and regional councils to be formed according to an agreement.

Ethiopia 'Not Aware' of Addis Ababa Meeting on Somalia

AB1310100593 *London BBC World Service in English* 0600 GMT 13 Oct 93

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] Although, as we heard yesterday, the UN and the United States have disagreements about how to proceed on Somalia, talks aimed at a solution to the fighting are moving on apace. The U.S. representative has met with members of General Aidid's faction, while the OAU and the UN have called for a summit meeting of African leaders in Addis Ababa next week to be chaired by President Mubarak of Egypt. It has been reported that the talks in the Ethiopian capital will be attended by the Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, but there now seems to be signs of a new disagreement. Max Bankole Jarrett spoke to Adulmajid Hussein, Ethiopia's minister for external economic cooperation, and asked him to clarify just who will and who will not be at the meeting in his capital next week.

[Begin recording] [Adulmajid] Well, Mr. Jarrett, let me first make one point very clear. You said who is going to be at this conference? As far as Ethiopia is concerned, officially, we do not know about this conference and, therefore, from that you can surmise that Ethiopia is not

going to take part in it, because we have not been approached, and we do not, in fact, see the need for it, since work on resolving the problem in Somalia has been going on behind the scenes. We think that such a conference at this stage is premature, and as I said officially, we are not aware of it.

[Jarrett] When you say, officially, you are not aware of it, how can a conference go ahead in your capital, Addis Ababa, without you being officially aware of it?

[Adulmajid] Well, that is very surprising and strange, is it not? But it is a fact.

[Jarrett] Has no one contacted you at all about the conference? Is that what you are saying?

[Adulmajid] Well, [Adulmajid clears throat] excuse me, as far as our Foreign Ministry is aware of, they only heard it through what I will say secondhand, and after having found it, we were ourselves a little bit surprised, because the mandate has already been given by the OAU heads of state at their recent meeting in Cairo to our president, President Meles Zenawi, and so did the recent IGADD [Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development] summit of all the heads of state of the Horn of Africa states, plus some East African countries like Uganda, who had also given the mandate to our president to pursue in finding a solution to the Somali issue. [sentence as heard]

[Jarrett] So are you saying that basically this conference or the UN moves or the OAU moves are going to conflict with the moves that the Ethiopian Government already has under way in trying to solve the problem in Somalia?

[Adulmajid] Well, all I can say is, as you have started with your question confusing, I think it will only confuse the matter, because there are already moves with those on the ground, in the area to deal with this issue behind the scenes, and which we think will be effective, and before these things have taken off the ground to come up with a conference like this I would say would only complicate the matters, yes.

[Jarrett] So has your government expressed its concern about this to the United Nations Secretary General Butrus-Ghali or the OAU Secretary General Dr. Salim Ahmed?

[Adulmajid] I am sure this has already been done through the normal diplomatic channels, I believe.

[Jarrett] Moving on now, you say that moves are under way from your side to try and solve the problem in Mogadishu. What, for example, can you say is being done right now by your government?

[Adulmajid] Well, basically, as I have said, we have not moved unilaterally. We have moved in sending a delegation from Ethiopia and Eritrea to Mogadishu, and we are cooperating in fact with the UN and other members of the international community on that issue and trying to seek a solution based, I must emphasize, on the March agreement of all the Somali factions held here in Addis Ababa.

[Jarrett] What about the United States? How are you working with them about this situation, because we heard that Robert Oakley, the U.S. envoy, was in Addis just over the weekend.

[Adulmajid] We are working very closely with the United States, and so you can rest assured that Ambassador Oakley, who has been in fact here first and then to Somalia and hopefully back again here shortly, is working closely with our president, who is, of course, in charge of this.

[Jarrett] But your style and that of the Americans is a very different one. Would you not prefer to see them leave the scene completely and leave it to you?

[Adulmajid] Well, as I have said, in fact, we as the main country in the region—and I must emphasize the point also that Ethiopia has almost 3,000 km of border with Somalia—so when everybody in fact is gone from Somalia, we will still be there, and those who may leave the place if it is still in the same situation will still be there, so we are happy to see other countries helping us in the situation, and we are also up to now been happy to work behind the scenes. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Chad

Transition Council on President-Prime Minister Conflict

AB1210103993 Ndjamenan Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Statement issued by the Higher Transitional Council, CST, in Ndjamenan on 11 October; read by Chairman Lol Mahamat Choua]

[Text] The Higher Transitional Council, after receiving transition Prime Minister Fidel Moungar's 1 September Letter No. 0041/PM/93 and President Idriss Deby's 14 September Memorandum No. 0019/PR/4-93, examined the situation engendered by the conflict between the two transition executive organs from 21 September through 6 October.

The prime minister's letter, which centered on the recent institutional crisis, claimed that the president of the Republic had violated Articles 43, 44, 45, 49, and 59 of the Transition Charter by creating many obstacles to the implementation of the sovereign national conference's resolutions.

The president's memorandum was on the dismissal of the minister of finance and computer science—backed by the prime minister—who is accused of serious lapses in duty.

After examining all aspects of the problem, the CST noted that the said conflict, which stemmed from the prime minister's refusal to replace the minister of finance and computer science as requested by the president, is not a institutional crisis. In view of all the reasons given in the president's memorandum and the prime minister's letter, the CST noted after examination of both documents that the prime minister through his silence, contradictions, and his delay in acting, has turned himself into an accomplice of the president of the Republic, thus violating the Transition Charter. The prime minister on the one hand backed the violation of Articles 12, 45, and 49 through his stand during the 8 August events in Ndjamenan, which were denounced and condemned at that time by the CST, and on the other through his silence and his inability to implement the sovereign national conference's resolutions.

Concerning the president's memorandum on the cases of serious lapses in duty of the minister of finance and computer science, the CST noted the signing of two loan agreements in violation of Article 104 and Circular Note No. 15, which is an incitement to insurrection in contradiction with the objectives of social peace mentioned in Article 56 of the Transition Charter. It is also worth noting that the prime minister backed these cases of violation.

The CST has noted that despite the minister's lapses in duty, which deserved penalties, the inadequate use of Article 37 led the president to violate the charter and procedures in force, mainly the signing of Decree 506

appointing an interim minister of finance and computer science, and Decree 505 suspending the regular minister and banning the prime minister's media briefing.

In conformity with Article 72 of the Transition Charter, the CST demands that all executive organs strictly respect the national conference's resolutions and mainly observe financial orthodoxy as requested by the national conference. The CST condemns all forms of violation of the Transition Charter and the nonrespect of resolutions. The CST would like all persons involved in the implementation of the resolutions to abide strictly by them. The CST will keep the dossier of this conflict open for possible additional information.

Economic, Other Problems Facing Transition Viewed

AB1210134793 Paris AFP in French 1232 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Ndjamenan, 11 Oct (AFP)—The first six months of Chad's transition period have led to the laying of the foundation for stable democratic institutions despite the "precarious" economic situation and the "absence of democratic tradition." This assessment was made by government sources in Ndjamenan.

"One cannot govern a country under constant pressure from the masses," Prime Minister Fidel Moungar, quoted by the CHADIAN PRESS AGENCY [ATP], stated in his address to the UN General Assembly. After expressing regret at the lack of a democratic tradition in the country, Mr. Moungar, according to ATP, appealed to "genuinely caring countries to see to real change in Chad."

The achievement of the objectives set by the sovereign national conference held from January to April is being thwarted by a "precarious" economic situation," ATP noted. The country's economic problems have quickly pushed the major goals spelled out by the conference into the background. On one hand, civil servants have not been paid for several months now. Many have not been paid for over nine months. Health workers and teachers, who have been on strike over salary arrears, have just agreed to resume work after the government promised to settle part of their salary arrears. Meanwhile, government has had problems in collecting taxes since it lost control over the customs in 1990 in favor of the "combatants" who came from Sudan with the head of state, Colonel Idriss Deby, when he won his victory over former President Hissein Habre.

Finally, the 1995-1994 cotton harvest (12,000 tonnes) was 30-percent less than predicted. Cotton, the country's major export commodity, is the source of livelihood of over 2 million people in southern Chad.

Already confronted with these economic problems, the prime minister has to cooperate with the head of state, whose prerogatives over foreign affairs and the national Army have been maintained by the national conference, and with a Higher Transitional Council charged with the implementation of decisions of the national conference.

Among these recommendations are "the transparent management of public affairs," "total" press freedom, and "strict" observance of human rights. National reconciliation, reorganizing the national Army, and reducing the number of soldiers from 45,000 to 25,000 are also planned. Moreover, the demobilization of soldiers following compensation has started.

In this regard, Mr. Moungar had earlier thanked France for her assistance notably in reforming the Chadian Army. In his view, the organization of free, democratic, and fair elections within the period prescribed by the national conference—12 to 18 months—remains the major goal to achieve. He said the country will also need the support of the international community to achieve this goal.

UNDR Issues Communique on 'Threat' Facing Transition

AB1210220593 Ndjamen Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Communique issued by the National Union for Development and Renewal, UNDR, following a workshop held in Ndjamen on 10 October]

[Text] On the political scene, the National Union for Development and Renewal called for the necessary reorganization of the armed and security forces, through the holding of a national meeting on this issue as well as demilitarization and general disarmament. The UNDR also calls for negotiations with the other political and military organizations to make them join the democratic process. The UNDR also demanded that necessary conditions be created for the holding of free and democratic elections under international supervision through the establishment of organs charged with drafting electoral rules, such as the constitution, the electoral code, the political parties charter, and the high council on communication that will regulate the media code.

On the economic scene, the UNDR said that the government lacked the commitment to adopt measures to revamp the economy and reduce government spending.

On the social scene, the UNDR deplored the continued degradation of the social situation. In conclusion, the National Council of the UNDR drew the attention of the national and international opinion over the threat facing the transition in Chad.

Congo

Official Election Results Released; Opposition Gains

AB1110090793 Brazzaville Radio Nationale Congolaise Network in French 1830 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Excerpt] The official results of the second round of the early legislative elections, awaited by 10 million Congolese, were published less than 50 minutes ago. Out of the 11 seats being contested, the opposition coalition led by

Bernard Kolelas won eight seats, compared to the three seats won by the presidential group led by Christophe Moukoueke.

The presidential group will now have 65 seats in the National Assembly as compared to 57 for the opposition coalition. Other parties, such as the Union for Democratic Renewal-Moinda, won two seats as compared to the one seat won by the Patriotic Union for National Renewal.

Compared with the former assembly that was dissolved on 17 November 1992 by the head of state, the parties that increased their number of seats are the Panafrican Union for Social Democracy led by Christophe Moukoueke going from 39 seats to 47, the Rally for Democratic Progress led by Jean-Pierre Thystere-Tchikaya going from nine seats to 10, and the Rally for Democracy and Development going from five to six seats. The parties that lost some seats include the Congolese Labor Party going from 20 to 15 seats and its affiliates going from six to three seats, the Congolese Movement for Democracy and Integral Development going from 29 to 28 seats, and the Union for Social Progress and Democracy led by Ange Edouard Pougui going from two seats to one seat.

The parties maintaining the same number of seats include the Union for Democratic Forces led by David Charles Ganao with three seats, the UDC [expansion unknown] led by (Felix Makosso), with its single seat, and the Patriotic Union for National Renewal led by Mathias Dzon with one seat.

Finally, the parties that won seats in the National Assembly for the first time are the UPPS [expansion unknown] led by (Jean Michel Bocambaya Gumba) with (21) seat, and Andre Milongo's Union for Democracy and the Republic and the PCR [expansion unknown] led by (Gregoire Lekuba) with two seats each. [passage omitted]

[Paris AFP in English at 2344 GMT on 10 October adds: "Congolese President Pascal Lissouba's party clinched an absolute majority Sunday in the much-postponed second round of general elections, despite clear gains for the opposition. But the victory for Lissouba's supporters could be short-lived—seven foreign magistrates are now preparing to study opposition complaints that voting was rigged in 56 seats in the first round in May. Opposition candidates won a clear victory in Sunday's second round, which was held over two consecutive weeks, according to the official results. The opposition coalition grouping the formerly Marxist Congolese Labour Party (PCT) and the Union for Democratic Renewal won a total of seven seats in the run-off compared to three for supporters of Lissouba. An 11th seat went to a PCT member who ran as an independent candidate."]

Equatorial Guinea

CSDP Issues Communique on Election Participation

AB0910112593 Malabo Radio Nacional de Guinea
Ecuatorial Network in Spanish 0600 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Communique issued by the Social Democratic and Popular Convergence Party, CSDP, in Malabo on 6 October]

[Text] The Social Democratic and Popular Convergence, conscious of its political responsibility in the face of the history of the Equatorial Guinean people, who are facing various difficulties on the path of their development; convinced of its (?mission), its political program, and its political goodwill to promote national reconciliation through sincere forgiveness; committed to seeking solutions to the country's problems through democracy and dialogue; convinced that it is only through the promotion of pluralistic and actually participative democracy that we can succeed in gradually eradicating the evils engendered by irrational regimes pursuing decaying policies; the party, conscious of the favorable responses given by its activists, supporters, and the general public as to whether or not the CSDP should participate in the next legislative elections slated for 21 November, after debate and deliberations by the CSDP Executive Council at its 5 October meeting in Malabo and endorsement by its members of the favorable responses given by its grass-root sections, the CSDP wishes to inform all its activists, supporters, and the general public that it has decided to actually take part in the next legislative elections slated for 21 November.

The party also expresses grave concern about the climate of intolerance, the intimidation campaign, and the lack of freedom of action entertained by the government of the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea against the opposition parties. It, therefore, demands that the government make an official statement banning and immediately stopping this intimidation and threat campaign against members of all the opposition political parties, civil servants, and the Equatorial Guinean people in general before it publishes the list of its candidates.

Issued in Malabo, 6 October 1993

[Signed] CSDP Secretary General Awuma Daya Oyono

Gabon

Opposition Member Announces Presidential Candidacy

AB1110152093 Paris AFP in English 1616 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Libreville, Oct 10 (AFP)—The leader of Gabon's main opposition party, Paul Mba Abbessole, has announced his candidacy for December's presidential elections, the first multiparty contest for the post since independence.

Speaking on national television at the end of the National Rally of Lumberjacks (RNB) congress late Saturday, Abbessole said he would campaign to win on the first round and was not concerned by the opposition's attempts to field a single candidate.

Abbessole is expected to challenge President Omar Bongo who has been re-elected in one-party elections since he succeeded Leon M'Ba to the presidency in 1967, seven years after independence.

Bongo has not yet declared his candidacy, but has recently embarked on what is seen as an unofficial campaign of addressing rallies around the country and giving television interviews.

Candidates have to file deposits of 200,000 French francs (35,700 dollars) by October 21 for the first round poll, scheduled for December 5.

Political observers here believe RNB is the strongest party in Gabon. It holds only 17 seats in the 120-member parliament, but the 1990 elections—the first multiparty parliamentary polls since 1964—were marred by irregularities and opposition boycotts.

Rwanda

Council of Ministers Reacts to Patriotic Front Protest

EA1110092793 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in English 1615 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Excerpts] The current transitional government in Rwanda has no intention at all of contravening the Arusha peace accord, nor has it the intention of going beyond its program to interfere with the programs of the broad-based transitional government.

This statement was contained in a communique released last night [8 October] after the meeting of the ministers' council, which was chaired by the prime minister, Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana [name as heard]. [passage omitted]

On the question of the RPF [Rwandan Patriotic Front] complaint, the ministers' council examined the letter which was sent to President Habyarimana by the RPF Chairman Colonel Alex Kanyarengwe on the thirtieth of last month. In that letter, the RPF chairman said that the Rwandese transitional government was going beyond its mandate and thereby interfering with the program of the broad-based transitional government, which will include the RPF.

After examining that letter, the ministers' council found the worries of the RPF to be based on the information it has, which might not be true. The ministers' council submitted to the President's Office the points which will be contained in the letter which will be replied to the RPF chairman.

A communique released after this meeting said that the current transitional government has no intention at all of contravening the peace accord, nor does it have the intention of going beyond its program and to interfere with the program of the broad-based transitional government [as heard]. It said that what the current government was doing was not contrary to the peace accord.

In order to maintain the mutual trust with the RPF, the ministers' council decided to send immediately a delegation which will meet the RPF leaders to exchange the true information. This meeting is expected to take place next week. In this meeting they will also discuss the question of selecting the candidates for the post of [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Zaire

UN Envoy 'Optimistic' About Talks, Meets President

AB1110172793 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1230 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] Yesterday, Lakhdar Ibrahimi, the UN secretary general's special envoy to our country, was received by President Mobutu Sese Seko in Gbadolite. After the meeting, he was interviewed by Kipologo Moukanga:

[Begin recording] [Ibrahimi] I have been in this country since 8 October, and it is therefore normal for me to call on the head of state and hold discussions with him on the ongoing negotiations in Kinshasa, which I believe have been positive. A lot of progress has been made and we hope above all that these negotiations will end in the spirit of cooperation and compromise that seem to have motivated the participants.

[Moukanga] As far as I know, you have been in contact with the two sides since 8 October. When are the negotiations going to end?

[Ibrahimi] You know, I do want to talk in the place of the people concerned. I believe that they are very close to their goal. I also believe that they are still driven by a very constructive spirit and that the Zairian political class wants to prove that it is conscious of the situation prevailing in the country and of the people's aspirations. As Bishop Monsengwo stated, they realize that they do not have the right to deceive the people. We therefore hope that they will succeed, but it is all up to them, and I....

[Moukanga, interrupting] As the envoy of the UN secretary general, can you still say that you are as optimistic as you were before?

[Ibrahimi] Yes, I am optimistic. I believe Zaire has the means of resolving this crisis itself, but the responsibility lies on the shoulders of Zairian politicians. They need to assume their responsibilities and accomplish their duty. [end recording]

Talks Said Not Making Progress

EA1310131593 Mbuji-Mayi Voix du Zaire in French 0430 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Text] The ongoing Zairian political consultations at the People's Palace, Kinshasa, are not making any progress. According to informed observers, political forces of the pro-Mobutu Conclave and [word indistinct] delegates are still waiting for the plenary session due to adopt the final report of the proceedings and [word indistinct] the adoption of the protocol agreement.

According to the spokesman for the two delegations, the two reports have already been worked out. In spite of rumors circulating concerning the two reports, they will be adopted during the next plenary session, the date of which still has not been made known.

The present truce is said to be serving as an opportunity to settle the issue of the appointment of the leader of the transitional government, one of the points of divergence observed during the consultations.

In this very connection, it is considered that the higher interest of the nation should come first.

Kenya

Foreign Minister: World Supports Stand on Somalia

EA1010204093 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Excerpt] The world community fully supports the Kenya Government's stand on Somalia and appreciates the supportive role Kenya has played to the UN peacekeeping efforts. The minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka, said this today on arrival from New York, where he led Kenya's delegation to the 48th UN General Assembly. Mr. Musyoka said that President Moi's recent statement that the UN troops should continue with its work in Somalia was well received at the General Assembly. The minister said that the U.S. is no longer targeting Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, but is instead concentrating on a peaceful solution to the Somalia problem.

Mr. Kalonzo said he held discussions with seven foreign ministers, mostly from the African region, including those from Uganda and Sudan. Their discussions centred on peace efforts in Sudan and matters concerning the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development, IGADD, which is currently chaired by President Moi. [passage omitted]

President Moi Calls on Citizens To Look to Future

EA0810173293 Nairobi KNA in English 1230 8 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 8 Oct (KNA)—His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said it was high time all Kenyans took seriously the future of this nation and stopped gambling with their lives by electing leaders on experimental basis. The president said wananchi [citizens] ought to realise that elections was an important issue that determined their lives and added that such decision should not be taken hastily. He said, by making [hasty] decision, wananchi ended up by electing people and parties which did not care about the welfare of the people.

President Moi was addressing a public rally at Hamisi Centre in Hamisi constituency [Vihiga District] where a by-election is to be held on Tuesday [12 October] next week.

Noting that Vihiga is a newly-created district, President Moi said the district required leaders who are united to speak in one voice on matters that affect the people. The president told Hamisi people to guard against being confused by some of the opposition leaders who were well known for poor development track record in their own constituencies. He recalled that for the short period that Hamisi constituency had been represented by the opposition, hatred and division had been fuelled amongst the people making it impossible to concentrate on development matters.

President Moi said with the enormous population, Hamisi required a mature and sober representative who will steer the development of the area. He therefore urged voters in the constituency to vote for the KANU [Kenya African National Union] candidate, saying the

party's development record in the constituency and the nation as a whole was exemplary.

President Moi once more criticised a section of the opposition for agitating for revival of tribal groupings and said this was a clear testimony to the fact some of the opposition leaders were tribalists. Stressing the need for unity among all Kenyans, President Moi urged all patriotic Kenyans to ignore the agitations and live as one people. [passage omitted]

Government Issues Statement on Declaring Security Zones

EA0910205893 Nairobi KBC Television Network in English 1830 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Government statement on the imposition of security zones in Molo, Londiani, and Burnt Forest—read by announcer]

[Text] When the Kenya Government declared Molo, Londiani and Burnt Forest as security zones on 2 September 1993, several pessimists rushed to the press and the international community predicting escalation of the clashes. The government, however, was determined in its efforts to restore peace, law and order and peaceful coexistence among all communities living in the areas affected.

This move has to date been lauded by all the people of goodwill, as it has restored normalcy in the areas concerned, and even some clergymen, lawyers and members of the international press and diplomatic corps who had earlier been misled by the false reports spread by the pessimists have now come to fully support the government's move after they realized they had been grossly misled.

It has now been firmly established that members of the opposition caused the clashes, because when the government moved in and sealed off the areas and the matter was left in the hands of the government and local communities, the clashes stopped. It is even a matter of simple common sense. That is, only one factor was changed: The opposition was kept out and the clashes stopped.

It has also emerged from comments from both the local and international community that outsiders used to burn the houses and kill local residents in a manner which led neighbors to blame each other for the arson and murder. When those arsonists and murderers were kept out of these areas, calm and normalcy returned. Neighbors are living peacefully with other neighbors. The government and all the right-thinking Kenyans are now convinced that all these activities were caused by the people who had every reason to want to cause disaffection against the government.

As the situation has now stabilized in Molo, Londiani and Burnt Forest, and security forces and provincial administration continue to maintain the prevailing peace, residents of the area are now busy resettling and rebuilding their homes undeterred. They have also expressed appreciation to the government's efforts in restoring peace, which enabled them to return to the normal farming life peacefully.

Somalia

U.S. Envoy Oakley Extends Stay; Cease-Fire Holds

AB1210185593 Paris AFP in English 1818 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By Marie Joannidis]

[Excerpts] Mogadishu, Oct 12 (AFP)—U.S. special envoy Robert Oakley Tuesday [12 October] was set to pursue his mission in Somalia for one or two more days but had not met aides of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, sources close to the American official said.

A U.S. Army spokesman meanwhile said soldiers missing since a battle between U.S. forces and the fugitive General Aidid's militiamen on October 3 would all be accounted for if three bodies recently found were positively identified.

Also Tuesday, the U.S. aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln arrived at an "operational distance" off the Somali coast as part of what spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Don Girsh called "Somali security enhancement forces." The reinforcements despatched by U.S. President Bill Clinton include 3,700 U.S. Marines with 1,700 infantry, backed up by 3,800 sailors and the 6,100 crew of the aircraft carrier, Girsh said.

Oakley had been due on Tuesday afternoon to leave Mogadishu for the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa, but planned to stay on here, according to the sources in his entourage.

Ethiopian and Eritrean mediators Lissane Yohannes and Haile Menkerios on Tuesday tried to persuade him to meet members of Aidid's political faction, the Somali National Alliance (SNA). Sources close to Oakley said he had met elders of Aidid's Habr Gedir clan, but not the SNA. Washington has ruled out direct talks with Aidid, declared a wanted man with a price on his head after 24 Pakistani UN troops were killed in a June ambush blamed on his militia. [passage omitted]

The ceasefire announced by Aidid appeared to hold with only one incident reported, involving small arms fire against Pakistani UN soldiers who fired back Monday evening. Nobody was injured during the brief clash, UN officials said. [passage omitted]

Aidid late Monday said in a clandestine radio address that his faction must be given a report of a meeting to be held in Addis Ababa next week between UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and African and Arab leaders. He said "it seems out of the question to embark on a new initiative without consulting the Somali people and their leaders."

Meets With Aidid Aides

AB1310101793 Paris AFP in English 1007 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Mogadishu, 13 Oct (AFP)—U.S. special envoy Robert Oakley has met here with aides of Somali warlord

Mohamed Farah Aidid and is hopeful that a U.S. pilot and a Nigerian UN soldier held by Aidid's forces will be released soon, sources said Wednesday.

Oakley huddled with a delegation from Aidid's Somali National Alliance (SNA) led by Isse Mohamed Siad Tuesday [12 October] and told the team that the unilateral release of the two hostages would help the ongoing dialogue, the sources added. Oakley had been due to leave Mogadishu for the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa on Tuesday afternoon, but decided to stay on until Thursday [14 October]. [passage omitted]

Tanzania

President Reshuffles Cabinet, Merges Ministries

EA0910200093 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
External Service in English 1600 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has reshuffled his cabinet and merged two ministries into one.

A statement issued by the State House in Dar es Salaam today said the minister of state in the President's Office in charge of the cabinet, the Honorable Horace Kolimba, has been appointed minister of state in the President's Office and vice-chairman of the Planning Commission to replace the late Stephen Kibona. The minister of works, Hon. Nalaila Kiula, will now head the newly formed Ministry of Works, Communications and Transport, which was created by merging the Ministries of Works and Communications and Transport.

The minister of state in the Prime Minister and First Vice-President's Office, Hon. Edward Lowassa, has been appointed minister of lands, housing and urban development to replace Hon. Marcelino Komanya, who has been appointed Iringa regional commissioner. The minister of communications and transport, Professor Philemon Sarungi, becomes minister of education and culture in place of Hon. Charles Kabeho, who has resigned from the post.

Former Dar es Salaam regional commissioner, Hon. Mustafa Nyang'anyi, is the new minister of state in the Prime Minister and First Vice-President's Office to replace Hon. Edward Lowassa. The deputy minister in the Prime Minister and First Vice-President's Office, Hon. Edgar Maokola Majogo, becomes deputy minister in the newly created Ministry of Works, Communications and Transport. Major Sigela Nswima, who was deputy minister in the Ministry of Works, has been transferred to the Prime Minister's Office to replace Hon. Edgar Maokola Majogo.

President Mwinyi has also appointed Dr. George Mlingwa principal secretary in the Ministry of Works, Communications and Transport, and the principal secretary in the former Ministry of Communications and Transport will be assigned other duties.

The ministers and deputy ministers involved in the reshuffle will be sworn in at the State House in Dar es Salaam tomorrow morning.

Further Reportage on Formation of Freedom Alliance

Meeting With Government Concludes

*MB1110154393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1441
GMT 11 Oct 93*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Oct 11 SAPA—The leaders' summit between the newly established right-wing Freedom Alliance and the F W de Klerk government ended after two hours of talks on Monday afternoon. The alliance issued a brief statement setting out the essence of its communication with the government after leaving the presidential Tuynhuys office. No statement from the government was immediately forthcoming but Mr De Klerk is expected to raise the issue at a National Party rally in Stellenbosch later in the evening.

The Alliance statement said the state president was told of its formation to address what it called the "failure of the (Multiparty) Negotiating Council to deal with the political realities of southern Africa".

"President de Klerk was informed of the Alliance's belief that the political situation in South Africa was so serious that only a summit of all major South African leaders can resolve the negotiation crisis." The Alliance was preparing a manifesto detailing its position and its suggestions on a way forward to resolve the country's problems on the basis of inclusivity as opposed to majoritarianism. "The Alliance also sought, and will continue to seek, the South African Government's unambiguous commitment to the principle of self-determination." Finally, the Alliance stressed its commitment to "constructive and inclusive negotiations."

'Upbeat Mood' After De Klerk Meeting

*MB1210110293 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
12 Oct 93 p 1*

[Report by political correspondent Chris Whitfield]

[Text] Cape Town—The five Freedom Alliance leaders emerged in an upbeat mood from their two-hour meeting with President de Klerk yesterday, with one source saying a "lot of commonality has been found."

Although the five—kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen—swept past journalists at the Tuynhuys gates, it was evident they had been encouraged by proceedings.

Ciskei spokesman Mickey Webb said afterwards it had gone very well for the Freedom Alliance. The meeting had been "cordial and encouraging," he added. Sources in both the Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu camps were also bullish about proceedings.

De Klerk was expected to give the Government's response at a public meeting in Stellenbosch last night.

A statement issued by the Freedom Alliance after the meeting said De Klerk had been told that the grouping was created to address the "failure of the Negotiating Council to deal with the political realities of southern Africa."

It is understood that the alliance insists that the projected April 27 election date be postponed, but De Klerk believes it is still attainable.

"President de Klerk was informed of the alliance's belief that the political situation in South Africa was so serious that only a summit of all major South African leaders can resolve the negotiation crisis," said the statement.

A source said this issue was left unresolved by the meeting.

The alliance said it would be preparing "a manifesto detailing its position and its suggestions on a way forward which would resolve South Africa's problems on the basis of inclusivity, as opposed to majoritarianism."

It also sought "the South African Government's unambiguous commitment of the principle of self-determination."

De Klerk was accompanied by Minister George Bartlett (Mineral and Energy Affairs), Roelf Meyer (Constitutional Development), Leon Wessels (Manpower), Dr. Tertius Delport (Local Government) and Dr. Dawie de Villiers (Public Enterprises).

Manifesto on Constitutional Themes

*MB1210183993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1707
GMT 12 Oct 93*

[Text] Pretoria Oct 12 SAPA—Referenda should be confined to testing the acceptability of constitutional proposals on which consensus had already been reached at multi-party negotiations, according to the Freedom Alliance's (FA) manifesto released on Tuesday. In the manifesto, the FA—which includes the Conservative Party—also rejected racism and discrimination.

Their opposition to a unitary state and demand for self-determination, which seem to be the main binding factor in the alliance, were also set out in the manifesto, released at a news conference in Pretoria. "The peoples shall preserve their undeniable right of self-determination, which includes the right to challenge, in any internationally acceptable manner, attempts to thwart these inalienable rights."

The FA was committed to resolving the country's constitutional proposals through negotiations based on consensus, which should continue until a settlement was reached, the manifesto said. South Africa should be organized in member states, primarily responsible for governance of the peoples to express their rights to self-determination. "Boundaries of member states

should be determined by the people of such states and not by a centralised process of negotiations."

In addition, cultural diversity and the rights of people, both as individuals and as members of the social and cultural formations to which they belonged should be nurtured and protected, the manifesto said.

On elections, the FA said they should be held only within the parameters of final constitutions which entrenched checks and balances to limit the power of government. "The political settlement reached in the final constitutional dispensation shall not be repealed or modified, contrary to the provisions contained in the constitution. Any arrangements and mechanisms must conform to the parameters of the final negotiated constitutional settlement, and shall neither be finalised nor implemented until that final settlement is properly secured. The rights of peoples, their fundamental needs and political aspirations shall not be compromised but shall survive any arbitrary and unilateral attempts to disregard them."

Members Give News Conference

MB1210201893 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The newly formed Freedom Alliance has proposed a new negotiation process to take the place of the Kempton Park talks. At its first joint news conference this evening, leaders of the five groups comprising the Alliance said they would negotiate as one with both the government and the ANC [African National Congress]. The Alliance said its main objective would be to negotiate a constitution entrenching the right to self-determination with the peoples of South Africa. But in its manifesto it also rejected racism. Estelle Pienaar reports:

[Begin recording] [Pienaar] A week ago they were known as the Concerned South Africans Group. Late last week they formed a new organization called the Freedom Alliance and suspended all bilateral negotiations with the government and the ANC. Today the alliance announced that all the parties involved would talk with one voice in future as they all had the same goal in mind.

[Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, in progress] ...what can be objective is on the most constructive and determined way, through the process of negotiation, to play our full part and full role to contribute towards a solution for this subcontinent of southern Africa.

[Pienaar] Within its own ranks the Alliance faces tough negotiations. As many unsolved issues remain. For instance, the question of confederalism verses federalism. The Conservative Party [CP] has in the past adamantly opposed the idea of federalism and staunchly supported confederalism. While the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] had done exactly the opposite. Another issue which will need addressing is ethnicity, as all the parties of the alliance categorically reject racism and discrimination.

[CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg] My party and the Volksfront [National Front] are not racially based parties because the proof of the fact is, the fact that we are forming a Freedom Alliance with our partners, (?through) that we are only promoting the freedom and the self-determination of our Afrikaner nation.

[IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi] To say that one recognizes the question of our symmetry doesn't mean to say that one recognizes that our people, black people, can be discriminated in (?this or that state), it is of no importance to us. [end recording]

Favor Federal Option

MB1310102893 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Excerpts] The newly established Freedom Alliance has committed itself to constructive negotiations with all parties, including the government and the ANC [African National Congress]. [passage omitted]

The chairman of the alliance, Mr. Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana, said that after the failure of the negotiation process in Kempton Park, a new process was in operation which could be handled only by a meeting of leaders. According to the Alliance, a referendum, as mentioned by the state president, should be held only to test the acceptability of constitutional proposals.

The leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, said that the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front] were not racially based organizations, and that they demanded nothing for the Afrikaner that they would begrudge other peoples.

Our political news staff reports that kwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, which form the alliance with the Volksfront and the CP, spoke out strongly at the conference in favor of a federal solution to South Africa's constitutional issues.

Meyer: IFP Broke Agreement by Joining

MB0810155093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] The South African and kwaZulu governments were on the point of reaching agreement on the content of an interim constitution when kwaZulu suspended the talks and joined the Freedom Alliance. The minister of constitutional development, Mr. Roelf Meyer, said in Pretoria that the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] had been drawing up a document and that Inkatha's withdrawal from the bilateral talks amounted to breaking the agreement between the state president and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. However, Mr. Meyer declared himself willing to have talks with the newly established Freedom Alliance.

Effect on Negotiations Assessed

MB0910114593 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 9 Oct 93 p 2

[By political correspondent Chris Whitfield]

[Text] The forging of the Freedom Alliance out of Cosag [Concerned South African Group] has dashed growing consensus between the Government and both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana on how to bridge the impasse over regional powers.

The divergent views embraced by the somewhat unlikely alliance—from committed federalists in the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] to the Conservative Party, which will not tolerate any suggestion of a federal solution—are bound to complicate negotiations.

The alliance has signalled that none of its parties will negotiate individually with the Government or the ANC [African National Congress]. Instead it will form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties."

It appears likely that the Government and ANC teams involved in talks with the alliance will now have to go back to square one for a solution that will accommodate both the KwaZulu demands and those of the white right-wing organisations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday charged that the latest developments constituted a breach of the instructions given on September 16 by President de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to their negotiators.

But it is reliably understood that senior KwaZulu and IFP negotiators were caught completely unawares by the announcement on Thursday night that the alliance had been formed.

Meyer told a press briefing yesterday that the Government had been involved until recently in intensive bilateral discussions with both the KwaZulu government and the Afrikaner Volksfront [AVF, Afrikaner National Front] "directed at reaching an understanding on the contents of the Interim Constitution."

"I don't want to go into details of possible agreements, but I can give the assurance that (the talks were) constructive and fruitful," he said. This was particularly the case with KwaZulu, Meyer said, and a document that was being developed in those bilateral negotiations would have given force to the instructions given to negotiators at the September 16 meeting.

He pointed specifically to the agreement that the Government and KwaZulu should strive for common objectives in the constitution. "We were preparing a document that would have set out common objectives. The reaction on both sides was positive as far as the contents of that document were concerned," said Meyer.

"The fact that bilateral meetings on this document have now been terminated by the KwaZulu government is very unfortunate."

Senior KwaZulu government and IFP negotiators contacted about the alliance late on Thursday evening said they knew nothing about it. But IFP chairman Dr. Frank Mdlalose said the announcement came as the result of a long process starting with the formation of Cosag, and that all negotiators had been party to developments in this process.

It is thought that the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Tienie Groenewald played a major part in forging the alliance and may have been assisted in recent days by the IFP's Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana's Row n Cronje.

The long-term future of the alliance must be questionable. The IFP policy on federalism is far apart from the ethnicist approach of the CP and AVF. However, the Cosag alliance has survived similar strains and the highly motivating factor of surviving into the new South Africa may paper over cracks.

Meanwhile, Government and ANC sources have indicated that they intend to press ahead with the process at the World Trade Centre. Some negotiators claim to be confident that the Interim Constitution being thrashed out at talks will contain enough in the way of regional powers to bring KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana back.

Meanwhile, it is understood that the Government has distributed to other negotiating parties its proposals for regional powers to be included in the Interim Constitution and then binding on the final constitution. It had signalled in the past that it wanted these powers to be considerably strengthened.

Bophuthatswana President on Purpose

MB0910155293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1500 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] Mmabatho Oct 9 SAPA—The newly formed Freedom Alliance was determined to secure self-determination for nation states in a new South Africa. Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said on Saturday. Addressing the annual congress of the Christian Democratic Party in his capacity as president, Mr Mangope said the collective political clout which the Freedom Alliance [FA] represented meant its voice could not be ignored either in Southern Africa or abroad. "The Freedom Alliance was formed as a direct result of the failure of the negotiating council to deal with the political realities in Southern Africa," he said.

Mr Mangope said it was logical that government should be practised as close to the people as possible, and this meant regional state governments with the very maximum of autonomy. If the present negotiating process at Kempton Park was allowed to reach its "obvious conclusion", it would result in "a mayhem and destruction such as we have not yet seen".

Mr Mangope said the Concerned Southern Africans Group, which the FA had replaced, had proved to be "too loose" to deal effectively with the course of self-destruction on which the African National Congress [ANC]/South African Communist Party [SACP]-alliance was steering southern Africa. "We needed more cohesion and a stronger front to match that of the opposition. In the Freedom Alliance we now believe that we have that cohesion and collective power to make a distinct difference to the political future of southern Africa."

He said the alliance was founded on a common conviction that self-determination was an overriding prerequisite for a peaceful and prosperous region. "Without the achievement of an acceptance of self-determination, all of us face a future which does not bear thinking about."

The formation of the FA had made the worst nightmares of those opposed to them come true. "It constitutes a force which no one either in southern Africa or abroad can now ignore. From now on we will be heard, and we will be heard resoundingly."

Mr Mangope also warned that he and his supporters were prepared to die before allowing the SACP, through its control of the ANC, to determine the future of his people. "When we say we treasure our independence and our right to make decisions for ourselves we mean it."

He wanted nothing to do with a two-phase system of transition in which a constituent assembly would be able to write a constitution on the basis of majoritarianism. He charged that the negotiating council had turned into an "undemocratic sham" where one agenda was being pursued to the exclusion of all else and the Transitional Executive Council was a "blatant political fraud designed to serve the interests of an emerging elite in South Africa".

"We will settle for nothing less than self-determination in which our own people are governed by our own government," President Mangope concluded.

Further on De Klerk Statements on Referendum Proposal

MB1210183293 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] There has been varying reaction by political leaders and analysts to the state president's proposal that a referendum would be the best solution if agreement between parties was not reached within the next four weeks. President de Klerk, addressing the opening of the National Party Cape Congress in Stellenbosch, said a referendum will give the electorate in the country an opportunity to ensure that constitutional negotiations was successful.

[Begin De Klerk recording, in English] A referendum is democratic and civilized. It offers [South Africans] an opportunity to become part of decisionmaking, and to express themselves on points of differences to all South

Africans. And if it is structured objectively and fairly, it will offer every party a chance to put its case properly before the voters vote in such a referendum. [end recording]

Mandela: ANC Opposes Idea

LD1210140093 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1106 GMT 12 Oct 93

[By Rowan Dore]

[Text] African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela today declared his opposition to the idea of a referendum to decide South Africa's future. But he said South African President F. W. de Klerk last night assured him in a telephone conversation that the idea was only one option and was not a fixed proposal.

Mr Mandela, who is visiting Britain to encourage more businessmen to invest in South Africa, made the call following reports that Mr de Klerk wanted a ballot as a way of ending a deadlock caused by a boycott of multi-party democracy talks by right-wing groups.

The veteran ANC president told a news conference at the Confederation of British Industry headquarters in London: "I had a telephone call with Mr de Klerk last night and he assured me that at no time did he make a specific proposal. All that he did say was that the matter of a multi-racial South Africa must be addressed in one way or another and one way could be through a referendum."

Mr Mandela said his country's future had to be resolved through multi-racial talks involving all parties. The ANC totally rejected the idea of a referendum.

One group in the talks, the Afrikaans Leaders' Party, was demanding "a whites only referendum", he said, adding: "We do not want a referendum on those terms. We will never agree to such a referendum. It is an option which is highly unlikely to occur. The way forward is through the multi-party forum." Mr Mandela said he did not know whether the suggestion of a referendum was a delaying tactic.

In his address to the CBI Mr Mandela called for more British investment in South Africa, and stressed that the level of violence in the country was exaggerated and trouble was only confined to small areas. He called upon all South Africans who had left their homeland because of apartheid to return home and make a much-needed contribution to building a new non-racial society.

"We know that many of these South Africans have become distinguished citizens of this country and many other countries. It will be our great honour and privilege to welcome them home," Mr Mandela said.

Blacks should be encouraged to run more businesses, he went on. "Our people have been excluded from the mainstream of the economy for many years by the

apartheid system. They were not allowed to run businesses for many decades. "The time has now come for them to occupy their rightful place in all aspects of our society, including the business sector," Mr Mandela told the businessmen, who gave him a standing ovation at the end of his speech.

He added: "I appeal to you to seek out and engage in meaningful partnership with the emerging black businesses. This will go a long way towards the reinforcement of the de-racialisation of our society."

Azapo Official Comments

MB1210160893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1542 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 12 SAPA—South Africa needed a two-sided negotiation forum and not a referendum to resolve the political situation in the country, the Azanian People's Organisation [Azapo] said on Tuesday. Azapo Deputy President Mr P J Nefolovhodwe was commenting on State President F W de Klerk's statement that a referendum might be necessary if parallel agreements could not be reached between all parties involved in a new constitutional dispensation.

Mr. Nefolovhodwe said in a statement a two-sided negotiation forum would comprise the Nationalist Party [party name as received], the Freedom Alliance and all parties supportive of the old order on one side.

The other side would be a patriotic front of liberation forces including Azapo, the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

He said the purpose of the forum would be to:

- put in place a transitional authority which would arrange elections for a constituent assembly;
- work out modalities for the transfer of power from the white minority to the black minority;
- set up mechanisms for an international peace-keeping force to maintain law and order during the election; and
- "quarantine" the government's security forces.

"Azapo believes that the time is now ripe for the formation of a broadly-based patriotic front of liberation forces to act collectively, and will be contacting other liberation forces in this regard," Mr. Nefolovhodwe said.

President De Klerk on Limiting Executive Power

MB1210164993 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1500 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, says the government is looking at various ways to limit the power of the executive. Referring to a motion at the Cape

National Party [NP] Congress at the Strand calling for power sharing to be continued indefinitely, Mr. de Klerk said power sharing was only one way of limiting executive power.

Earlier the NP chief negotiator, Dr. Dawie de Villiers, said that creating a compulsory coalition through power sharing could create problems. He said it amounted to drawing the major opposition into the government when at times it could be more important to have an opposition separate to the government. He said the NP was negotiating a strong package with the system of power sharing for five years to ensure effective government.

'Good Progress' Reported on National Unity Government

MB1310052193 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The government's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, told the National Party [NP] Congress that there's been good progress in getting agreement together on a government of national unity.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Conrad Burke] Constitutional development was on the agenda with Mr. Roelf Meyer reporting that talks on the makeup and the functions of a government of national unity were edging toward agreement. It's this government that will rule the country in the crucial period after the elections.

[Meyer] We have been engaged in bilateral discussions on this subject now for weeks, and I must say there is good progress at the moment. But it is a more complex issue than what we ourselves originally envisaged. [switches to Afrikaans] But I am convinced that we will be able to overcome this matter in the coming days.

[Burke] Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers also a key government negotiator warned delegates against seeing false coalitions in the future as the epitome of good democracy. For this, he said, effective opposition was vital:

[De Villiers, in Afrikaans] The idea of entrenching a permanent coalition in the executive council also creates problems.

[Burke] Dr. de Villiers also reported that the Cape National Party was consolidated and expanding its support base. Today Congress voted in a new organizational setup aimed at gearing the party into election mode. [end recording]

Cape National Party Holds Annual Congress in Strand

Cape Party Leader Speaks

MB1210101393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0845 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Strand Oct 12 SAPA—The newly-formed Freedom Alliance could not advance any convincing

argument why the original Kempton Park Negotiating Council was not representative, Cape National Party [NP] leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said on Tuesday.

Addressing the provincial party's annual congress—probably its last before South Africa is divided into regions—he said there was no other path for South Africa than multiparty negotiations.

It was difficult to determine what the alliance members really had in common.

The Afrikaner Volksfront [Afrikaner National Front] (AVF), with the Conservative Party in the forefront, stood for a white nation state (volkstaat) in which citizenship would eventually have to be determined by race and ethnicity.

Dr de Villiers said the question was whether Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana approved this standpoint.

The strangest standpoint was that the Afrikaner Weestandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] (AWB) was also part of the alliance.

This meant that Mr Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brig Gqozo had now also become Eugene Terreblanche's leaders. "I can hardly envisage stranger bedfellows," Dr de Villiers said to laughter from delegates.

If the achievement of a multiparty agreement proved impossible, a democratic process had to be allowed through a referendum, as announced on Monday night by President F. W. de Klerk.

Time was of the essence. The African National Congress remained the NP's biggest opponent but that "certainly does not imply that we must walk away from the negotiations with them".

Notwithstanding the political tensions of the times and the volatile circumstance, remarkable success had been achieved through negotiations.

"Particularly remarkable if the profound, intense and emotional division which apartheid bred are borne in mind."

The certainties of the past had been false, Dr de Villiers said. They had been "certainties" built on race and ethnicity and dependent on white minority domination.

Reelects Leader, 3 Deputies

MB1210101693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0904 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Strand Oct 12 SAPA—Minister of Public Enterprises Dr Dawie de Villiers was unanimously re-elected leader of the Cape National Party at its congress on Tuesday.

Its three deputy chairmen were also re-elected—Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel, Andrew Julies MP, and Marieta Badenhorst.

Carel Greyling was re-elected chief secretary.

Mandela Says White Minority Subsidizing Apartheid

LD1110134893 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1149 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela believes South Africa's white minority are still "subsidising" apartheid and are not facing up to their responsibilities. Mr Mandela, on a visit to Birmingham, said South Africa's future lay between the path to economic ruin and equality of opportunity and foreign investment. But he refused to bow to pressure from the international business community and rule out nationalisation after the forthcoming elections. He said the black majority still suffered at the hands of a system still weighed in favour of the minority.

"We are making an appeal, bringing attention to the fact that big business in South Africa is owned and controlled by whites. Blacks are confined to small businesses and as long as you have this wide gap in opportunities it's going to be difficult to have a market-driven economy.

"We are asking businessmen to have a partnership with blacks." Mr Mandela said the key to the country's economic future lay in ensuring equality of opportunity and encouraging investment. He said: "At the moment the government subsidises white children five or six times more than black children.

"Black children can't find schools to go into and they can't find the jobs when they leave school.

"At present only 5 percent could find jobs when they leave school. We have 20,000 children aged between 12 and 16 who can't even find a school." Mr Mandela said as long as inequalities in wealth and opportunities continued violence would continue.

"There is no free market in South Africa because 86 percent of shares on the stock market are owned by just five conglomerates.

"This is an unbalanced and unfair distribution of resources and the only way we can address this imbalance is through state ownership." Mr Mandela said western countries had turned to state ownership as a way to combat "traumatic" events, such as war, and apartheid was no different to war. After speaking at the International Convention Centre, Mr Mandela went on to visit a community centre and a junior school named in his honour. He spoke to teachers at the Nelson Mandela School in Sparkbrook before joining in a dance given by pupils.

ANC Draws Up White Paper on New Foreign Policy

MB1210110193 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 12 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Patrick Bulger]

[Text] The ANC had drawn up a "White Paper" on a new foreign policy for a democratic SA [South Africa], ANC international affairs administration head Yusuf Saloojee said yesterday.

The paper was the result of six workshops, the first of which was an ANC effort, the next four of which involved academics and ANC alliance partners and the last at the weekend, involving the Foreign Affairs Department and business organisations.

Saloojee said the paper would be forwarded to the ANC's national executive committee which would consider it and probably adopt it as policy in November.

The document stresses the primacy of observing human rights and environmental rights as cornerstones of a new SA foreign policy. It does not single out individual countries.

It does call, however, for the establishment of a professional foreign service, which Saloojee said had to be broadly representative of SA's population mix and free from party political interference.

The document stressed the primacy of SA's relations with the rest of Africa but did not try to address the question of migration to SA in the event of a prosperous economy and stable society taking root.

Saloojee said the lifting of sanctions and the end of SA's isolation had opened a new chapter in SA's foreign relations.

He said the Foreign Affairs delegation had not contributed to the ANC paper but did take a lot of notes:

He described as "incorrect" a recent announcement that 40 new missions were being established abroad and said foreign policy had to be brought under the control of the foreign affairs subcouncil answerable to the Transitional Executive Council.

NP Official Criticizes Mandela Call for State Ownership

MB1210193793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1548 GMT 12 Oct 93

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the National Party, NP, Federal Council: "Statement by Marthinus van Schalkwyk MP, Director Media, in Reaction to Mr. Nelson Mandela's Call for State Ownership During His Address in Birmingham"]

[Text] Mr. Mandela's viewpoint is utterly confusing: On the one hand he supports investment and growth while

on the other he still clings to the dangerous ideology of state ownership and nationalisation.

It is clear that, while the ANC [African National Congress] may have converted to some free-market concepts, Mr. Mandela still thinks in terms of outdated socialist ideas. This spells disaster for the South African economy. The contradicting economic policy statements Mr. Mandela made overseas are cause for great concern. In Portugal, a few days ago, Mr. Mandela assured businessmen that the ANC has moved away from nationalisation as a policy; now suddenly in Birmingham, the ANC regards it as an option! Mr. Mandela and the ANC should realise that this kind of contradictory message is extremely damaging to the business community's perception of a future South Africa.

The adherence to the policy of nationalisation and state ownership is exactly what makes the ANC a dangerous party and a threat to future economic stability and growth. One would have thought that Mr. Mandela would by now have understood what is required to manage a successful, vibrant economy.

Azapo: ANC Trying 'To Liquidate' Black Consciousness

MB1210153093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1152 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 12 SAPA—The Azanian People's Organisation [Azapo] has accused the African National Congress [ANC] of taking part in a national campaign to liquidate the Black Consciousness Movement. The accusation was made on Tuesday after attacks on Azapo members in Boitekong near Rustenburg on Monday night.

Azapo Publicity Secretary Dr. Gomolemo Mokae said Azapo member Frans Sovara was stabbed in the back and burned in what appeared to be a "necklacing attempt". Three houses belonging to Azapo members at the informal settlement had been razed by ANC members, he claimed.

Dr. Mokae said in a statement the Boitekong attack by ANC "thugs" followed the disruption of a community meeting convened by Azapo in nearby Phatsima township two Saturdays ago. "Azapo cannot help but surmise that this is part of a national campaign to liquidate the Black Consciousness Movement, very much like the failed programme of the United Democratic Front [UDF] in the mid-80s. This is particularly so when taken in conjunction with recent utterances by the ANC's (Secretary General) Cyril Ramaphosa in the eastern Cape (site of the most brutal attacks on Azapo members by UDF members in the mid-80s) that the ANC was going to 'clip Azapo's wings'," Dr. Mokae said.

He said it was profoundly ironic that while the ANC had suspended its armed struggle against the "Boers", its leadership had done nothing to educate its members about the struggle for true democracy.

ANC members found nothing wrong with their leaders being "fuddy-duddy" with representatives of the "regime" which had killed Steve Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Solomon Mahlangu and others, said Dr. Mokae, adding that it was astounding that they did not have the political maturity to live harmoniously with activists from other ideological schools. "If our analysis is correct, and it is, that the ANC's mission is to liquidate the Black Consciousness Movement [BCM], we wish to advise it that it is hell-bent on a futile mission. Black Consciousness runs deep not only within the hearts of members of the BCM, the black community, but also within many activists in the ANC itself," Dr. Mokae said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said it was unfortunate that in spite of existing channels of communication, Azapo preferred to use the media to address problems. "We reject the suggestion that the ANC is involved in a national campaign against the BCM. We would urge our brothers in Azapo to contact the ANC directly if they have problems with our members. At this stage we have not received any official communique from Azapo. We must also add that the ANC will investigate whether people alleged to have taken part in the attack are actually members of the organisation," Mr. Mamoepa said.

Earlier on Tuesday ANC Rustenburg sub-region spokesman Philemon Khunou said the ANC did not have a recognised branch at Boitekong, only a group of people claiming to be ANC members. Rustenburg police said they were investigating the attack.

Zulu Paper on ANC's Plan To Legislate Affirmative Action

MB1110134093 Durban ILANGA in Zulu 7-9 Oct 93 p 5

[From the "Comment and Opinion" page: "Off the Mark"—published in English]

[Text] The reality of apartheid was very simple—in the race called "getting ahead in life", whites were equipped with the finest training and equipment while blacks were tied to the starting post, given concrete shoes, and were unable to leave the blocks until the whites were miles ahead.

Who won the race was, of course, predetermined.

This must change. One measure of whether we succeed in building a fairer country is precisely whether the oppressed and dispossessed people of our land—the majority—are empowered to gain their rightful share of our nation's resources. These include wealth, income, land, and of crucial importance, opportunity. The real question is not whether this IS the goal, but HOW it should be achieved. And it is here that we really have to disagree with certain parties.

The ANC's [African National Congress] so-called human resource programmes co-ordinator, Mr. Papie Moloto,

claimed on Monday that the ANC would levy charges against companies that did not implement legislated affirmative action.

Companies should be encouraged to reflect the broad political, social and economic environment within which they operate. For example, we see no problem with this encouragement taking the form of tax breaks for in-house training, for creative human resource development programmes. Of course, blacks should be given every weapon needed to take advantage of opportunities in the economy and in the job market, and of course, they should also be adequately equipped to be able to maximise their potential. This entails a massive drive to correct the wrongs of the past. To provide a sound education and skills training, to assist the development of entrepreneurs—to do everything, in fact, that is reasonable to advance the principle and practice of a colour-blind society and of an economy where merit is rewarded, not the colour of one's skin. But this sounds rather different to the legislated affirmative action proposed by the ANC. Though careful to state that it does not favour a quota-based system, the ANC's pronouncements appear to put the cart before the horse.

The issue is not one of putting the wrong people in the wrong positions, but of putting the right people—irrespective of colour or any other superfluous criteria—in the right positions.

This much is obvious. So, if there are not enough blacks able to fill skilled posts in the public or private sectors, it is the responsibility of the state and the private sector to ensure that they are trained. Yes, racial discrimination should be prohibited, but no, companies cannot be expected to employ people on the basis of tokenism.

When Mr Moloto says "we would like to see companies gravitating towards affirmative action because it makes business sense", surely that is all that needs to be said?

The point is, by the year 2000, South Africa will at present trends, be short of 500,000 desperately needed managerial, professional and technical people. Furthermore, over 90 percent of these skilled people are at present drawn from the white population, which is only 12 percent of the total population. Any fool can tell that this situation has to change dramatically.

Clearly, any business hoping to survive in the new South Africa is going to have to take steps to address this human resources crisis—if it doesn't, it will be in trouble. So, yes, companies should do what is needed, but not simply because it is politically and ethically the right thing to do. The point is, they will have to do it anyway because anything else does not make economic sense.

Why then does the ANC make the threats that it does? In effect the organisation is saying: "do what you will have to do from a pure business perspective anyway, or we will penalise you."

We believe business is sensible enough to know what needs to be done without having to be browbeaten in this fashion.

PASO Vows To Retaliate for SADF Attack in Umtata

MB1210155293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1326 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 12 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Students Organisation [PASO], in condemning the South African Defence Force's [SADF] raid which claimed five lives at an Umtata house in Transkei last Friday, has vowed to retaliate. In a statement issued in Johannesburg on Monday PASO said it was decided at a national consultative conference in Natal on Monday that all members should "hit hard against the enemy in retaliation to what happened in Umtata".

According to the statement those killed in the raid were members of PASO. The statement also said the conference noted "dirty tricks employed by the Democratic Party [DP] and the National Party [NP] in their recruitment drive in our communities and resolved to wage a campaign against them". The conference warned the two parties not to attempt to hold meetings or rallies in the townships because they would be disrupted "by all means necessary". "We also undertook to drive out of our communities all DP and NP supporters as they pose a serious threat to the interest of our people. They must therefore go and join their comrades in the suburbs," the statement said.

Other resolutions taken at the three-day conference were:

- to increase manpower and financial support of the Azanian People's Liberation Army to expand the war to more of the country;
- to discourage people from joining the SADF or the proposed national peace-keeping force;
- not to participate in elections for a government of national unity or constitutional assembly and to campaign against such elections;
- to campaign for free and compulsory education from primary to secondary level by discouraging all forms of payment; and
- to occupy all under-utilised white schools.

Angolan Delegation Claims Daily Flights Supplying UNITA

MB1210153493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1121 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Cape Town Oct 12 SAPA—Daily flights from South Africa are ferrying arms and equipment into Angola to bolster the rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces, according to

an MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] member of parliament visiting South Africa.

SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported on Tuesday that Joao Melo, former head of the ANGOLAN NEWS AGENCY and now a deputy in the National Assembly, told a news conference in Cape Town that although involvement by the South African Government had apparently ended, former members of the South African Defence Force were still supplying arms privately to the rebel forces.

Another member of the Angolan delegation attending a workshop at the University of the Western Cape, Fernando Pacheco, said the war had almost destroyed the economy of Angola and conditions were akin to those in Ethiopia.

Mozambique's Dhlakama Meets Roelof Botha, ANC Leaders

MB0810184393 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 8 Oct 93

[Text] Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader Afonso Dhlakama was received by South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha today. This is revealed in a Renamo communique received from its General Headquarters in Maringue. The communique also says that Afonso Dhlakama met with African National Congress [ANC] leaders in South Africa yesterday. This evening, the Renamo leader leaves for Italy for a private visit.

South African Press Review for 13 Oct

MB1310102793

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Prospect of Civil War if Freedom Alliance Sidelined—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 11 October in its page 6 editorial remarks that the newly-formed Freedom Alliance "unites under one umbrella Blacks and Whites who oppose the decisions being reached by the government, the ANC [African National Congress] and their respective allies at the talks at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park." THE CITIZEN believes the government and the ANC "intend to write an interim constitution and wrap up everything in three weeks," and thereby "decisions will be taken without the Freedom Alliance and the movements and parties it represents. It is a great pity, since it is a recipe for White-Black resistance. It will also raise the prospect of civil war if, even at this late stage, nothing is done effectively to address the aspirations of the Freedom Alliance and partners."

THE STAR

All-Race Referendum "Deadlock-Breaking Instrument"—Commenting on the possibility of an all-race referendum, Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13

October in a page 14 editorial says: "the negotiations could be approaching a point of crisis, and a referendum is one possible way of seeking legitimacy for a process which has become dangerously controversial." A referendum "could be a democratic deadlock-breaking instrument." THE STAR believes a referendum question "framed as unambiguously as possible, should ask individuals whether they wish to proceed in terms of the constitution on offer, or not. Their votes should be counted nationally and regionally, so that the feelings of different areas can be gauged." Furthermore, the referendum should be called and administered by the Independent Electoral Commission, and all citizens, including those of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei should be included.

Far-Right Concedes Weakness of Racially Exclusive Power Base—In an article on the same page Hugh Robertson writes that by forming the multiracial, multi-ethnic Freedom Alliance, the "white Far Right has publicly conceded for the first time the weakness of a racially exclusive political power base. That is a burst of sunlight on their hitherto benighted response to the realities of the country, and we should welcome this breakthrough." But it is a breakthrough which is "diaphanously fragile." "Other than their shared desire for their own chunk of territory (the economic and demographic impossibility of that in the case of whites notwithstanding) the thing which the two most powerful groups in the alliance—the CP [Conservative Party] and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party]—have in common, is their talk of 'war'." Nevertheless Robertson finds it "difficult to conceive armed resistance by groups which essentially differ on the issue of a white homeland."

BUSINESS DAY

All-Race Referendum "Ill-Advised"—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 13 October in a page 10 editorial warns that President de Klerk's proposed referendum, if negotiations deadlock, is "ill-advised." "At best, it will resolve nothing. At worst, it will exacerbate polarisation between the right-wing Freedom Alliance

and the rest." Furthermore, a referendum majority, however large, "will not shield the winners from the violence that an exclusive settlement will bring, nor will it spike the guns and other 'cultural' weapons of the losers." "The time may come when the majority of South Africans are forced to reach the conclusion that a settlement with the parties of the Freedom Alliance is impossible because their demands are not in line with basic democratic principles, and go far beyond a federalism which presupposes a single South African nation." But that point has not been reached because "the bottom line has not yet been spelled out in private meetings between the parties."

SOWETAN

Referendum Proposal "Non-Starter"—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 13 October in a page 6 editorial declares that President de Klerk's referendum proposal "seems to be a non-starter." President de Klerk heads a party "split over tactics and a substantial faction which wants to hive off in the direction of the [Freedom] alliance." Therefore, for De Klerk a referendum "could sort out problems within his party, pull the rug from under the feet of the alliance and legitimise interim structures. Members of the alliance, however, fear the outcome of a referendum as much as they fear an election and have rejected it out of hand. Nothing will appease the rightwing, for instance, except the Balkanisation of South Africa." SOWETAN believes a general election "has more merit" than a referendum and is "an appropriate means to test the will of the people."

SOUTH

ANC-Labor Party Embrace Confusing—Cape Town SOUTH in English for 1-5 October in a page 6 editorial says what "befuddles the brain is the ANC-Labour Party [LP] embrace. Is it political maturity or political opportunism to welcome LP members into the ranks of the comrades? Bearing in mind that these seedy specimens are not even required to say they're sorry?" SOUTH doubts whether the "discredited Labour connection can deliver votes to anyone."

Angola

'Well-Placed Source' Reveals Terms for UNITA Talks

LD1310054593 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 2300 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Excerpts] The Angolan Government has its reply ready to UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] latest call for talks. [passage omitted] The reply has not yet been officially announced. Walter Medeiros reports:

[Medeiros] [passage omitted] RDP learned this evening from a well-placed source at Futungo de Belas [Luanda presidential palace] that the government is not demanding the withdrawal of the UNITA troops from the cities as a sine qua non condition for a resumption of the dialogue. All Jonas Savimbi's movement has to do is publicly and unambiguously state its acceptance of the election results and the UN resolutions and its willingness to discuss with the government the ways and means for the implementation of the resolutions on the ground.

These signs of greater flexibility on the government's part might expedite the resumption of the talks with UNITA. Following Alioune Blondin Beye's talks with the international observers' troika, there are now three possible ways in which the talks could resume: Direct talks as in Abidjan; secret preliminary meetings, as happened between Israel and the PLO; or contacts between message carriers from both sides. The United Nations will mediate, and to the troika, made up of Portugal, Russia, and the United States, will fall the role of persuader.

Update on Cuito Situation; UNITA Continues Siege

MB1210065993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Despite the unilateral cease-fire declaration made by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, a war situation continues to be experienced in this country. In a nutshell, the gesture by the Jonas Savimbi-led organization amounted to nothing more than an exercise in propaganda to seek further UN Security Council sanctions. At this stage, the provinces of Bie, Cuando Cubango, and Malange are those most affected by UNITA operations. In Cuito, the UNITA forces continue their siege around the city, preventing people from moving to its outlying areas in search of food. In addition, the UNITA rebels have also been stealing the people's possessions. Abel Abraao, our correspondent in the area, reports:

[Begin Abraao recording] The UNITA rebels have occupied the homes of civilians who had sought refuge in the city center because of the intense shelling that has rocked Cuito for the last nine months. In addition to losing all their possessions, those civilians now walk about the streets aimlessly. They have no chance whatever to return to their homes because they have been occupied by the

men led by Jonas Malheiro Savimbi. The most worrisome aspect of this situation is the great concentration of UNITA men and war materiel. The governmental forces are also facing constant provocation. [end recording]

UNITA Reportedly Kills 'Hundreds'

MB1210130793 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1100 GMT 12 Oct 93

[From the "Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cock-erel" program]

[Excerpt] Radio Angola reported yesterday that men in the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, military wing attacked a group of civilians moving between the city of Cuito and Cunje Commune on 10 October. Cunje Commune is some 7 km from Cuito. The Radio Angola correspondent reported that hundreds [as heard] of civilians were killed and many others wounded when they tried to move from Cuito to Cunje Commune, which remains in the hands of the Angolan Armed Forces, FAA.

The attack, which occurred in the afternoon, was in flagrant violation of UNITA's unilateral cease-fire offer. The Radio Angola correspondent also reported that men in the UNITA military wing have begun provoking the FAA soldiers to force them to restart shooting. This is part of a plan to get the FAA forces to resume hostilities at a time when the UNITA military wing has completely surrounded the city with men who have come in from Huambo. [passage omitted]

Said Preparing 'Major Offensive'

MB1310084493 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has again shelled the city of Cuito. Today, the victims were women and children who had gone near Cunje to search for food. Abel Abraao, our correspondent in the area, reports:

[Begin Abraao recording] Yesterday afternoon, the UNITA rebels fired their long-range cannons on a large crowd of civilians, mostly women and children who were in the vicinity of Cunje Commune searching for food. Meanwhile, the UNITA troops have been ferrying war materiel to areas south of Cuito to [words indistinct] sources have told Radio Angola here that vehicles loaded with war materiel daily move along the road between (Camutongo) and (Chimbassilili). Those sources have also told us that those operations are part of preparations for a major offensive on the city of Cuito. [end recording]

Police Communique Notes Renewed 'Terrorist' Actions

MB1210203593 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The following is a communique just in from the General Command of the National Police for the Angolan and international public:

1. There has been a relative reduction in offensive military actions carried out by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] in the main zones of conflict, particularly Cuito, following the unilateral declaration of an alleged cease-fire by that organization. Nevertheless, terrorist actions have been renewed. Powerful explosive devices have been planted in strategic economic objectives, suburbs, and in the outlying areas of the main capitals and provinces of the Republic of Angola.

2. For example, a number of explosive devices have been defused in Viana District on 9 and 10 September 1993; at the radio research station; in Ingombota District on 26 September 1993; in Maianga District on 11 October 1993, and on the premises of Radio Nacional de Angola.

3. Those actions are aimed at destabilizing the Angolan economy, creating a sense of insecurity among civilians, and discrediting government efforts to consolidate peace, democracy, and security of people and property.

4. In this context, the General Command of the National Police alerts the forces of public order and the people in general to redouble their vigilance and to thwart and expose any actions aimed at disturbing public order.

Government MiG's Reportedly Attack Cuanza Sul District

MB1310051993 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Engineer Jose Eduardo dos Santos' organization is still bent on war, with its air force bombing civilian targets. At 1345 on 8 October 1993, two government MiG's bombed residential areas of (Mucumbi) town, killing 52-year-old Abreu Canguia. At 0802 on 9 October in the same area, the same aircraft dropped four bombs over the (Cassende) committee installations, killing one person and destroying civilian property. Cuanza Sul residents have strongly condemned the barbaric attacks, as well as air raids on the city of Huambo. They have appealed to the government to honestly negotiate with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola in order to achieve the peace that the Angolan people want.

Army Officer: UNITA Increasing Operations in Cabinda

MB1310084293 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] The military situation has remained unchanged in Cabinda Province. Lieutenant Colonel Hilario Catita,

spokesman for the Cabinda Military Zone Command, has described it as stationary, although sporadic enemy operations have been reported. He also reported that there have been movements of men along the border with Zaire and that war materiel has been offloaded at Zaire's Matadi Harbor.

[Begin Catita recording] At this stage, we are receiving reports from secret and even public sources concerning enemy movements in the Republic of Zaire, along the border between Cabinda and that country, and in particular in the areas of Tando Zinze and Prata. The aim of those forces is to infiltrate and increase their operations in this part of Angolan territory. We have all been following the evolution of the country's political and military situation. On one hand, we see that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has been claiming a unilateral cease-fire, but on the other hand, we see that it has increased its operations. Thus, we are not losing sight of the fact that offloading war materiel may be a sign that Cabinda could become another pocket of tension. UNITA (?intends) to infiltrate some war materiel into this province so it will find it easier to fulfill its objectives; notably to hit important economic targets such as Cabinda Gulf Oil and destabilize the Angolan economy. [end recording]

*** New Government Strategy for UNITA Viewed**

93AF0832A Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 4 Sep 93 p B2

[Article by Gustavo Costa: "The Strategy of the Spider"]

[Text] Luanda—Operation "Seize the Day" is the code name supposedly attributed to the current attack against the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] by government troops, which have been reinforced by the incorporation of more than 50 percent of the members of the counterintelligence services of the former FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] into the FAA [Armed Forces of Angola]. The operation could undergo a phase of "selective offensives," aimed to reduce the military capacity of the FALA [UNITA's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] on several fronts at the same time.

According to a source in the Defense Ministry, this option has been gaining solidity to the extent that the appeal for a "long march" back to Jamba, which some high commanders of the movement of the "Black Cock" [Jonas Savimbi] have urged, has been gathering force.

The logistical blockade imposed on the Central Plain, with the intensive bombing by the government MiG's, has impeded fuel deliveries to the war fronts and, as EXPRESSO learned from eye witnesses who were recently in Huambo, this is drastically reducing the maneuvering capability of Savimbi's troops.

The "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth," to which FALA Commander Ben-Ben appealed to remobilize his troops, would seem to indicate the beginning of a new phase of

the war in Angola, with the UNITA preparing to generalize the war throughout the country, given that the commander's appeal coincides with the beginning of the rainy season.

Luanda is determined to destroy the UNITA's military and logistical arsenal and its principal military bases in the center of the country. However, independent sources say that the Gove base, in the heart of Huambo, does not appear to have been affected yet, and the UNITA troops are attempting to regroup to launch prompt counteroffensives.

A specialist in the FAA General Staff assured that from now on the government troops will concentrate on the "blockade of the corridors of penetration, ligation, and supply, the rupture of the chain of command and telecommunications, and the disarmament and clearing of mines."

Some analysts warn, however, that Jonas Savimbi's men have a great capacity for resistance and punishment, "not in the defense of Huambo City," but in the execution of strategies to break the siege mounted by the FAA from Benguela, Huila, Kwanza-Sul, and Lundas.

With Luanda's troops at the gates of Huambo, Western military sources in the Angolan capital believe that the UNITA is going to make a final "push" to try to occupy Bie. With the erosion of the UNITA forces because of the Air Force bombardment and the entry on the scene of the new long-range artillery pieces acquired by the government, this possibility is increasingly remote.

Shipments of materiel are beginning to be unloaded daily in Moxico, from which, because of its relative openness, operations could be launched in the direction of Bie, in conjunction with other operations launched from Luanda and Malange.

Return to Guerrilla War

According to a former Portuguese Army officer who knows the territory, the UNITA may already have prepared to reorganize its guerrillas to meet this situation, although it is argued in some circles that the lack of a base of support on the Namibian border would make it difficult for the UNITA to sustain a prolonged war indefinitely, as it did for the past 16 years.

Mindful of this, Luanda is intensifying the enlistment of soldiers of the old "Buffalo" battalion in Cabo Ledo, who could be rounded up by South African officers, according to information gathered by EXPRESSO.

According to the same source, the government intends to enlist a "considerable number" of these men, who would be paid their weight in gold to carry out "very special missions."

At the same time, Luanda, which does not seem troubled by the "15 September" syndrome (the deadline set by the Security Council for UNITA to return to the negotiating table), will continue to speed up the training of special rapid intervention forces, to face a war that some experts think will last another 12 to 18 months.

* Russian Diplomat Discusses Arms Sales to MPLA

93AF0832C Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese
14 Sep 93 p 8

[Interview with Leonid Safonov, head of the Africa Department in the Russian Foreign Ministry, by Jorge Menana Alves; place and date not given: "A Planeload of Ammunition"—first paragraph is O DIABO introduction]

[Text] Leonid Safonov, a member of the "troika," admits that his country has sold munitions to the Luanda government. They were trifles sold two weeks ago, and it will sell more munitions if asked. In earlier times, they were free.

[Alves] It is said that General Ben-Ben told Mario Soares that Russia is rearming the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], as it did during the civil war. Is it true?

[Safonov] It is not true. It happens that the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has been violating the peace accords from the outset, and so we understand the position of the Government of Angola. We have a principle that if and when the Angolan Government asks us for military materiel, we will respond.

[Alves] Does this mean that if the Luanda government wants to purchase arms from you, you will sell them?

[Safonov] Well, certainly. It is common sense. Since the UNITA does not feel any obligation to honor the signed accords.... I am not completely familiar with the situation, but they (the Angolan Government) bought a small plane from us, loaded with small-arms ammunition.

[Alves] They bought them from Russia?

[Safonov] Yes, but these were small quantities of ammunition.

[Alves] When?

[Safonov] Two weeks ago, but the quantity is insignificant. A trifling amount.

[Alves] Is Russia selling arms to the UNITA?

[Safonov] No.

[Alves] Could there be sales of Russian arms without the knowledge of the government in Moscow?

[Safonov] It is highly unlikely. We have a strong combination of precautionary measures. A special license is required. So it is impossible to sell Russian arms without the knowledge of the government. However, we cannot guarantee that other countries are not selling Russian weapons to third parties.

[Alves] Ukraine and Byelorussia also sell arms on the international market. Have some of these arms reached Angola?

[Safonov] I cannot speak for them. It would be better to direct your question to them. In any event, they are free countries and can do whatever they understand to be in accordance with international laws.

[Alves] How much does Luanda owe Moscow for past weapons sales?

[Safonov] That is a good question; no one knows. Some arms were sold on credit, others on a commercial basis. In any event, the debt should be something in the neighborhood of \$3 billion or \$4 billion.

[Alves] Chester Crocker, the U.S. assistant secretary of state, has claimed that, in the past, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos received a commission on arms purchases from Russia. Any comment?

[Safonov] He must have very poor sources of information. (Laughter). That makes me laugh. How could the Angolan president receive a commission, when those arms were delivered with nothing in return? Where does the commission come into it? (Laughter)

[Alves] Why didn't the "troika" receive the UNITA [delegation]?

[Safonov] It is obvious. The UNITA delegation had nothing new to offer. Moreover, it was inappropriate to receive a UNITA delegation here, when no one was expecting it, without also receiving a government delegation.

Malawi

New Congress Party Chief Gwanda Chakuamba Profiled

MB0910190893 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 9 Oct 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] On Wednesday [6 October], the ruling Malawi Congress Party filled one of its posts, that of secretary general, a post that had been vacant for almost a decade. The appointment came as president is in hospital in South Africa, reportedly recovering from brain surgery. The post of secretary general is constitutionally important, as if anything should happen to President Banda, the secretary general will become acting president in a committee of three. However, the appointment of veteran politician Gwanda Chakuamba raised a few eyebrows. Although Chakuamba used to be a minister, he fell out with the government and spent 13 years in prison. On his release a couple of months ago, he announced he was a member of the opposition United Democratic Party, but he has now changed sides again. Our Malawi correspondent Willie Zingani profiles Gwanda Chakuamba, the man who could be the next ruler of Malawi:

[Begin Zingani recording] Gwanda Chakuamba was released in July this year following pressure mounted on Dr. Banda's government by multiparty advocates.

Chakuamba came out of prison full of praise of those who fought for his release and joined one of the two major opposition parties, the United Democratic Front, UDF. He told Malawians how badly he was treated in the Malawi prison and called on his followers in the Shire Valley area to support the United Democratic Front and bury Malawi Congress Party alive. Three months after his release, Gwanda Chakuamba has done something which will remain a puzzle for ages to come. He has gone back to his old camp, the Malawi Congress Party, where he has been offered the hot seat of secretary general of the party. He is now second to President Kamuzu Banda, enjoying the status of vice president, a position Dr. Banda has left vacant in his 30 years of dictatorial rule.

What sort of character is Gwanda Chakuamba? What magic has he played to jump from prison back to parliament in a matter of months? What do Malawians think of this unpredictable man who has declared, and I quote, I am a Christian. I was baptized while in prison. I still love Dr. Banda. [no end quote as heard] Gwanda Chakuamba was born on 5 April 1935 in a southern district of Nsanje. His father and mother were peasants who earned their living by selling agricultural produce. Gwanda Chakuamba's father was an active politician in the colonial days. He was a member of the African Nyassaland Congress, and his argumentative approach to political issues saw him going to jail for 18 months in 1953. He served his sentence at Zomba Central Prison, the same place his son spent 13 years.

Gwanda Chakuamba says it was his father who threw him into politics. After his primary and secondary school education in Malawi and Zimbabwe, Gwanda Chakuamba joined the Malawi Congress Party as a youth leaguer, where he rose to the ranks of cabinet minister in the early 1960's. He got married to Raima Faki, with whom he has one son and two daughters, who are now studying in Zimbabwe and the United States. But how do Malawians look at Gwanda Chakuamba? Some people know him as an unpredictable character, militant, and uncompromising. He was once in charge of the notorious Malawi Congress Party paramilitary wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers. Others call him an opportunist who moves with waves. He goes where the sun shines. But the real puzzle remains on his loyalty to Dr. Banda, even after suffering for 13 years, under torture—and the Malawi prisons are well known for torturing political prisoners. [end recording]

Justice Minister Suspends Traditional Courts

AB1210210093 Paris AFP in English 0856 GMT 12 Oct 93

[Text] Blantyre, Oct 12 (AFP)—Malawi's traditional courts, used extensively to try political opponents of President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, have been suspended, a local newspaper reported Tuesday. The MALAWI DEMOCRAT quoted Justice Minister Lovemore Munlo as saying that the suspension would be effective until parliament could repeal the law under which they were established.

Widely criticised by international human rights organisations as "kangaroo courts", the traditional courts denied defendants legal representation and were presided over by government-appointed chiefs without legal qualifications.

Among Banda's political opponents tried by the traditional courts was one of Malawi's most famous political prisoners, Orton Chirwa, who died in prison last October.

The courts had the power to impose the death penalty, and opposition parties have been pressuring the government to abolish them along with capital punishment.

"We are concerned with every person who was sentenced to death without legal representation," said Modecai Msisha of the Public Affairs Committee, which groups a number of political parties. "We strongly feel these cases and others that went through these courts without legal representation should be reviewed," he said.

Mozambique

Renamo Accuses Government of Link With Security Company

LD1110085293 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 2300 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] There is another barrier in the Mozambique peace process. Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] is accusing a private security company of supplying weapons to demobilized Frelimo military members. Afonso Dhlakama has already stated that he will not proceed with the cantonment of his troops if the situation does not change. More details from Mozambique from Fernando Canana:

[Canana] Afonso Dhlakama's Renamo stated that the recently established Protege security company constitutes a serious threat to peace in the country. Jose de Castro, head of Renamo's exterior relations department, questioned the emergence of Protege soon after the signing of the Mozambique peace agreement.

Protege is a private company suspected of being linked to the government and set up after the day the agreement was signed. It has sophisticated heavy and light weapons and, according to Jose de Castro, is there to reinforce the demobilized army and police conscript forces with which the government, we quote, does not want to part.

According to Jose de Castro, this behavior by the government will force Renamo to halt the cantonment of its men.

In an interview to the DOMINGO Sunday newspaper, Jose de Castro stated it will be very dangerous for Renamo to go ahead with cantonment of its men under these circumstances. He added that if the government is serious about cantonment, then it must dismantle all its regular and private forces, including Protege and then it must ask the UN to oversee police activities.

Renamo has exposed the transfer of some 15,000 army demobilized personnel to the fast reaction police force, a police force which according to Renamo may be used for intimidating the electorate.

Protocol No. 4 of the Rome agreement recommends that private and regular paramilitary armed groups in activity on the day the ceasefire is put in practice, must be dismantled and the setting of new groups of the same nature will be forbidden. [passage omitted]

Renamo Supports Resumption of Draft Law Debate

MB1010120293 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Text] Jose de Castro, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] foreign secretary, is cited by DOMINGO newspaper as having said yesterday that his organization supports the resumption of the consultation and debate meeting on the draft Electoral Law between the government and other political parties. Jose de Castro criticized the closing of the meeting by the government, pointing out that had the meeting not been interrupted, perhaps the proceedings would have concluded by now.

On UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali's visit to Mozambique, Renamo hopes the visit would speed up the development of the peace process. Renamo feels that the UN secretary general cannot pass a judgment based on statements made only by one of the sides—that is, President Joaquim Chissano during his recent visit to the UN Headquarters. Renamo says it is vital that the Renamo president should also be heard.

Justice Minister Says No Return to Multiparty Talks

MB1210085393 Maputo MEDIAFAX in Portuguese 12 Oct 93 p 3

[Text] (Maputo) Justice Minister Osumane Ali Dauto has told MEDIAFAX that a return to multiparty talks as requested by Jose de Castro, of the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, a few days ago, is "completely out of the question." He noted that the deadline for proposals on changes to the government's draft Electoral Law expired on 10 October and that those proposals arriving now "will be given back."

Proposals from "some parties" were received. There were no proposals from individuals. Renamo has not yet handed in its final proposal. All there is at this stage is the document it presented partially on the first day of the multiparty talks.

Minister Ali Dauto also said that the government, though "without publicity, has been engaging in bilateral and multilateral dialogue."

* Company Privatization, Restructuring Detailed

93AF0380B Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese
15 Aug 93 pp 8-9

[Article by Moises Mabunda]

[Text] So far, 216 small- and medium-sized companies have been privatized, transferred to private use, or transformed into mixed corporations, since the restructuring, reconversion, and business transfer process began some four years ago.

Statistics furnished exclusively to DOMINGO by the State Property Department indicate that of this total, 150 have been privatized, 44 transferred to private use, and 22 turned into mixed corporations.

The process has been applied to all the country's provinces and many economic sectors. Maputo City and Province have the greatest number of companies: 80. They are followed by Sofala Province with 38 companies, then Nampula, with seven; Cabo Delgado, six; Zambezia, five; Inhambane, Gaza, and Manica Provinces with only three, and finally Tete and Niassa Provinces with two.

The areas covered range widely; from construction and water supply and agriculture, to business, transportation, communications, and information, even to trade, industry, and energy.

The sector with the greatest number of companies subjected to restructuring, trade, has 34. Second is industry and power with 31. The Construction and Water Supply Ministry has registered 28 companies, with 27 for the Agriculture Ministry; the information sector has 13, while transport and communications has 12.

According to Finance Ministry Property Department Inspector (DPE), Joao Francisco Fernandes Coreia, other processes are in the works. One has two phases, one of which is a call for bids. This is the new situation of the companies TID, Movarte, SSS, Zaurita, and Progresso, all of them from the industrial and power sector.

Also in the same stage are two quarries, Felicia I and Felicia II, as well as the Moveine quarry. Ciprel, four companies in Manica our source did not specify, and another four unidentified companies in Sofala.

The second phase involves those companies for which the bidding has already taken place, but which are now in the negotiation, notification, or payment phase. Firms identified as being in this stage are Vimoc, Sococo, and Crow Cork—all from the industrial and power sector; L. Duarte dos Santos and Umpala, both from the construction and water supply sector; and three others that Inspector Correia did not specify, in Zambezia Province. In the agricultural sector, there are the Lhanguene sawmills and two others in Nampula Province.

A third group can also be identified within the global restructuring process. These are companies in the stage

of process organization. In this stage there is Morfeu, Classica from Beira, Academica, and another 10 units in the construction and water supply sector in Nampula Province.

"There are other companies in progress. There are those that were already caught up in the process under Law 15/91, a total of 15, predominantly in the industrial and power supply sectors and in agriculture," the inspector also told our newspaper.

The Large Firms

However, the process does not only cover small- and medium-sized firms; it also covers large firms, duly identified by the government.

In this chapter of the development of large firms, those already engaged in the process are Fabricas de Refrigerantes [Refrigeration Manufacturers] of Machava and Beira, which was evaluated in 1992 and the Mocuba Textile Complex, Sulpesca, Marbeira, and Gambeira. According to a source from the Technical Unit for Enterprise Restructuring (UTRE), in addition to these units there are another six, identified by Decree 30 of 1992, which are also involved in the same process. These are Ifloma, now in the process of being privatized; Forjadora, for which the schedule was postponed; Cometal and Mometal, for which the bidding should have already taken place or is about to take place; Frigo, and Emplama, which should be completed this month.

For this year, Decree 3/93 of 21 April 93 identifies 19 firms that should be subjected to restructuring during the course of 1993. The restructuring process may culminate with transformation into a mixed corporation, transfer of ownership, or privatization. These are the firms: Agro-Alfa, E.E.; CETA, Structural Builder, Land-Leveling, Asphalt Pavements, E.E.; Mozambique Cement, E.E. (Nacala and Dondo factories); Matola Industrial Company (CIM); Manica Citrinos; Cograpa; Boror Company; Dimac, E.E.; Emocha, E.E.; Encatex; Fasol; Hidromoc, E.E.; Pescom, E.E.; Porcul; Saborel; 2M Brewery and Beira Brewery; Soveste, E.E., and Steia.

Regarding this process, our source at UTRE, who wished to remain anonymous, added, referring to 1993, that by next October the "dossier" will be complete for some of these firms. "There are areas where we are advanced and others where we are not," he said, giving as examples of areas where the process will conclude rapidly the clothing and beer sectors.

This framework clearly demonstrates the speed with which we are moving in the area of restructuring enterprises.

The Reason for the Privatization

Given the terms of the privatization process, there is agreement among those we interviewed on the reasons leading up to it: our current economic reality does not favor state monopolies.

In Inspector Correia's view, "this process results from another one; the economic process we adopted. In a market economy, the State is not appropriate for certain types of activities, such as owning a shop or a shoestore; that should be done by an entrepreneur. In the other system, one could not imagine being an entrepreneur, as the economy was centralized and the State created all the structures. In this system, there is no way the State can concern itself with managing companies.

Finance Minister Dr. Eneias Comiche (see interview [DOMINGO, 15 August, pp 8-9]) also holds the same position. "...privatization is part of the policy defined by the government, in order to confer greater efficiency on our companies. The State's role is to regulate the system. The State should not manage firms. This distinction has already been made. Naturally there are companies at this time that are still being managed by the State, but that should gradually change, transferring responsibility to private managers."

Privatized Firms Are Usually in Debt

Another reason for privatizing is the economic-financial situation of the targeted firms. The official in the State Department of Property provides details: "Usually those firms are in debt. There are some in good economic-financial condition. But most of them are in debt, even behind in wages. This is one reason that they sell products, to pay workers' wages. And I must say that in this process we have already succeeded, within many firms, in helping the workers to feel secure and certain that, at the end of the month, they will be paid. At first there were examples of exploitation, which was changed by Decree 21/89. People were hired as managers and the profits reverted to the State, and usually the situation was negative, with the company in debt; so there was a need to change that. Rather than hiring a manager and ceding to him all operations, we gave him the operations and then they paid us a certain percentage. The State ended up with a functioning and profitable unit."

How the Process Is Started

There is very little precision with respect to starting the business restructuring process. In the view of our UTRE source, the process had already begun in 1985/86, while Inspector Correia believes that it started in 1989. "In 1985/86 restructuring of firms in the state sector began. Essentially, it was joint ventures that were created. The State owned the company, and foreign capital participated. Such were the cases of the IMA and Cifel," our source elaborated.

Later, he said, in 1988 work began to be done on regulations and the subsequent fine-tuning. Afterwards, in May 1989, a decree was approved that shed some light on the process. This decree covered institutional arrangements in another decree, the 21/89. In the latter, evaluation and transferral committees were also created and the involvement of the supervisory, banking, union, and financing sectors was established.

Jose Correia points to the framework for the "official beginning." Decree 25/89, approved 23 May 1989 but published and implemented later, in October. "We worked under that framework until August 1991, when Law 15/91 was published which, although not revoking Decree 25/89, significantly advanced the regulation of the various situations that occurred in the restructuring of the state-owned enterprises." Correia explained further that under 25/89, what was intended was to simply transfer companies and financial participation.

Under the 15/91, this was considerably advanced. While the 21/89 allowed direct negotiation, 21/91 already said that the transferral of companies would be by public competition.

"Thus, it was under 21/89 that we officially began the process of transferring and privatizing companies," he concluded. However, the inspector admits, the process moved forward, but lacked regulation. "Transfers occurred with none of the regulation, laws, or structural framework that had been anticipated in 21/89," he pointed out.

Joao Correia specified the roles of the authorities involved as follows: "The representatives of the relevant ministry and Finance Ministry have the mission of monitoring the process to see where the product (company) is going. There is also a worker representative to watch over the workers' future. Because a transfer does not mean the end of the obligation. [Decree] 21/89 says that the company's buyer has the obligation to keep the workers. Because the sale is not only based on the financial value of the company; value is only one of the relevant factors. It is based on the bidder showing that it can run the company as it should be run, and can improve the conditions of the workers themselves. That means earning adequate wages.

However, the date Correia considers the effective start date was 1990. "In 1989 more time was spent holding preparation seminars, because we found certain difficulties, people were not accustomed to working with such laws. We only succeeded in overcoming them in 1990. Then, until August 1991, there was a pause until the publication of Law 17/92. Law 13/91 provided for reconversion of the companies. Whenever a corporation was created, it was necessary to protect the workers and that created problems of interpretation. It was only with the publication of Law 17/92 that this was adequately clarified and we moved forward with the process.

The First Privatizations

The first companies to be privatized were: Associated Diesel, LM Garages, Fonseca S.A.—all in the transportation sector. But the process was already effectively in practice before the legislation, according to the inspector.

"Now, those companies under the protection of the legislation are Zenha and Pal Vidro, and in the industrial and power sector, Facol, says our source.

In the Provinces

Because the process covers the entire country, the provinces have mechanisms for its execution. "There are committees in the provinces where necessary. Committees are not just for their own sake. They are created because, first, it was shown that there was a need for them to be created. Then, because there are situations that can be decided in the province. We see no reason for the transfer of a tobacco shop to be decided upon at the level of a national committee. The same at the national level, there are levels: We have to keep in mind the size and strategy of the firms. When a firm of national size and level is involved, the authorization comes from the Council of Ministers. When it involves a medium-sized company, it is the authority of the relevant ministry and the Finance Ministry, so long as it is by public offering." It is in this environment, according to Correia, that various committees exist. This is particularly true under the protection of Decree 15/91, the UTRE—Technical Unit for Enterprise Restructuring—involving privatization of the large enterprise, like Forjadora, Hortofruticola, Fasol, the cement factory, and the sugar mills.

What Are the Consequences of the Privatizations?

It is clear that a question of this size cannot be resolved in the pages of a newspaper, but we leave here some opinions from authorized persons. Improvement for the country's economy? Increased unemployment? Chaos?

In the views of Minister Comiche, privatization is not synonymous with unemployment. "Privatization can lead to there even being increased employment," contends the ministry head. Comiche is optimistic, he states that the objective is to confer on the companies a greater degree of productivity, and thus improve the national economy: "The central objective is exactly that of establishing the conditions for the reinitiation of economic activity and the reconstruction of the social fabric throughout the country."

In the view of our previously cited UTRE source, "In theory the response is that privatization is the road to follow. However, in Mozambique's case, if privatization is not accompanied by investment, it will not be worthwhile. We have had no investment for 15 years. Now, all investment will be for rehabilitation, which creates difficulties for increasing the capability of companies to expand. Thus, we will have to "offer" [state-owned] companies to whomever might wish to make something of them. Thus, privatization by itself does not seem to me likely to give many results."

Our source, who prefers to remain anonymous, thinks that in the medium and longer terms, there will not be any problems with unemployment. On the contrary, more workers will be absorbed. "I believe that any process that starts and increases the work capacity must provide more jobs," the source says.

Swaziland**Names of New Members of Parliament Published**

MB1310070393 Mbabane THE TIMES OF
SWAZILAND in English 13 Oct 93 p 1

[By Gordon Mbuli]

[Text] Chief Electoral officer, Mr Robert Thwala announced last night that a new Parliament will be in place "soon." Mr Thwala also reported that the King will also announce his choice of 10 MPs for the House of Assembly "soon."

The House of Assembly is to be made of 65 MPs.

Only two women have been elected in the new Parliament.

Former member of dissolved Parliament, Mr Madzanga Constantine Sifundza had the highest number of votes compared to the other new MPs.

He had 2,402 votes at Lomahasha Inkhundla [traditional community council center].

These are the new MPs and the number of votes they got:

Mr Themba Nhlanganiso Masuku - Sandleni—1,105.

Mr Albert Heshane Shabangu - Mtsambama—945.

Mr Solomon Mnukwa Dlamini - Ndzingeni—643

Mr Dr Sishayi Simon Nxumalo - Madlangempisi—1,025

Mr Ephraem Fanukwente Magagula - Mkhweni—1,274

Mr Dumsane Masango - Pigg's Peak—525

Mr Uniswa [University of Swaziland] Lecturer, Mr Musa Nkambule - Mafutseni—741

Trade Fair boss, Muntu Mswane - Ludzeludze—976

Mr Philip Shile Dlamini - Siteki—722

Mr Nicholas Roy Fanourakis - Mtfongwaneni—937

Mr Edward Dlamini - Mbabane East—841

Mr Christopher Mdumiseni Masuku - Manzini South—443

Mr Benson Mntonzima Dlamini - Lamgabhi—538

Mr Michael Ntuthuko Dlamini - Manzini North—443

Mr William Msibi - Kwaluseni—667

Hhukwini - Stezi Goodwill Gama—897

Mr Robert Antony Mabuza - Motshane—1,046

Mr Musa Justice Nsibandze - Zombodze South—1,046

Mr Michael Mathokoza Maziya - Ekukhanyeni—464

Mr Patrick Gede Tsabedze—833

Mr Mzizi Ezrom Malinga - Mbabane West—446
Mr Philip Vonya Dlamini - Kubuta—838
Mrs Martha Lomasontfo Dlodlu—Maphalaleni—661
Mr Abel Dumsane Dlamini (21 Years)—Nkwene—815
Nr Khiza S. Thwala - Ntfontjeni—1,083
Mr Ephraem Mavuso - Mbangweni—566
Mr Anthony Johannes Roberts—Maseyisini—1,032
Mr Jackson Msweli Mdluli - Gege—1,045
Mrs Ellenah Nyawo - Hosea—690
Mr Babili Enoch Sibandze - Ngudzeni—706
Mr Mhlutshwa Robert Mthondi - Lavumisa—701
Mr John Seth Gumbi - Matsanjeni—830
Mr Julius James Tsikati - Sigwe—1,060
Mr Bennet Zindlela Ntshangase - Mhlambanyatsi—589
Mr Joseph Jabulani Dlamini - Mahlangatane—621
Mr Philemon Bhiya - Mayiwane—1,067
Mr Carrier Govane Mvubu - Mhlangatane—644
Mr Majahenkaba Dlamini - Nkhaba—996
Mr Samuel Mndovti - Nkilongo—612
Mr Samson Shongani Mamba - Mpolongeni (Lubombo) - 500
Mr Constantine Madzanga Sifundza - Lomahasha—2,402
Mr Johannesbs Tsabedze Siphofaneni—610
Mr Mathumba Mkhalihi - Sithobeleni—1,242
Mr Moses Hlandze - Lubuli—723
Mr Mathokoza Luke Zwane - Nhlabeni—(votes not available).
Mr Petros Mbhamali - Matsanjeni (Lubombo)—(votes not available)
Mr Mandlenkosi Dlamini - Hlane—366
Mr Mgabhi Dlamini - Ngwempisi—1,057
Mr Benson Bhembe - Mangcongco—(votes not available)

Mr Elias Ndwandwe - Timpisini—621 Note: Three Tinkhundla are still missing; namely, Lobamba, Mhlume and Shiselweni One.

Prince: MP's Plotting To Transfer Power From King

MB1110060393 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND SUNDAY in English 10 Oct 93 p 1,2

[By Themba Shongwe]

[Text] A clique of former MPs are plotting to move a Bill in the next Parliament, transferring executive power from the King to the Prime Minister of the day. The shocking disclosure was made by Prince Mfanisibili at Mbebeleni during an elections meeting yesterday.

He warned that such a move would bring the Lesotho experience to Swaziland. Prince Mfanisibili said he had heard certain former MPs talk about stripping executive power from the King and vesting those powers in the Prime Minister.

Yesterday he challenged candidates running in the general elections at Mbebeleni to declare whether or not they would support the Bill that would strip the King of power.

"I would like you to explain to me whether in this new government you are going to allow the proposed motion by some former parliamentarians and some people to remove powers of state from the King to the Prime Minister of the country. I want to know whether you will support a motion to make [sentence incomplete as published]

He said if such a thing is allowed, it would result in a situation similar to what happened in Lesotho where the king [King Moshoeshoe] found himself deported to England. He said a lot of people can take his warning as a minor thing. But a King without value would destroy the kingdom, he said.

"Nawe ngabe utsi inkhosi ayibe ngumdoli na?" [Do you also say that the king must be a doll?] He asked.

Mfanisibili who is among the princes of the Mbebeleni constituency also wanted to make sure that the candidate of their constituency will fully represent the area.

"We don't want to lose our Monarch. We want to continue a kingdom. If the prime minister is given all the authority, that will be the same as selling the country," he said.

The candidate addressed by the prince was Jabulani Zachariah Dlamini. He is representing the Mbebeleni ward in the general elections tomorrow. He assured the prince that if elected, he would fight against any such a motion. He said he would also promote Swazi culture.

Cote d'Ivoire

Houphouet-Boigny's Health Reportedly 'Worsening'

AB1310115893 Abidjan LA VOIE in French 13 Oct 93
p 2

[Raphael Lakpe article: "Houphouet's Health Is Worsening"—first paragraph is LA VOIE introduction]

[Text] Reports reaching us on the state of President Houphouet-Boigny's health are disturbing in many regards. Our president's health is said to be worsening. His physicians have reportedly obliged him to stay in bed and to cut down the number of phone calls and visits he receives.

According to various sources, which are generally well informed, Felix Houphouet-Boigny's health is becoming increasingly precarious. Although the man, who is officially 88 years old, has most successfully undergone a prostate operation, he is reported to be suffering from pains connected to his old age and to his failure to comply fully with convalescence restrictions. According to the sources, the pains, which are unrelated to his operation, have forced President Houphouet-Boigny back into a clinic. This reportedly accounts for his delayed return to Cote d'Ivoire, which was scheduled for late September.

If these reports are confirmed, we can affirm that they come at the worst moment for our country. The economic crisis has reached a disturbing level. At the end of the month, Ivorians—those who are luckily still in employment—are anxiously awaiting their salaries. The number of workers laid off is increasing each day, along with the unemployment rate. As our resources have been squandered in anticipation of higher revenue, the recent slight increases in coffee and cocoa prices will have no effect on us at all. Pending the devaluation of our miserable currency, the government recently announced a series of customs and excise relaxation measures, which entrepreneurs found ludicrous because reducing import taxes on perfumes and other luxury goods is merely enabling the mistresses of those in power to get more supplies for their dressing tables.

Homecoming at Stake

Meanwhile, we are still awaiting similar measures for spare parts for machines and other gadgets [preceding word in English] necessary for our industries because should the currency be devaluated, such imported articles would be more expensive, and if the customs and duties rates remain unchanged, their prices would put them beyond the reach of most of our entrepreneurs. More enterprises would be closed down and more Ivorians laid off, thus swelling the number of unemployed persons. The economic situation is worsening as is the state of Mr. Houphouet-Boigny's health.

On the political scene, many people are unhappy about the prolonged absence of that famous patient. The prime minister is facing increasing uncertainties. He had sworn

that he would never on earth reduce the salaries of Ivorian civil servants, but in view of the situation, can he keep his promise? Can the devaluation of the CFA franc salvage him? That is not so sure. Uncertainty, therefore, persists.

Maybe the constitutional heir-apparent [Speaker Konan Bedie] feels at last that his time is close. There is an increasingly broad smile on his face. Under Article 11 of our Constitution, he is Felix Houphouet-Boigny's successor, or even his heir. Although his African sensitiveness prevails on modern considerations, he certainly has that on his mind.

Even the opposition, which had advocated so much for a change in regime with the departure of the president who has ruled since 1958, has been cautious about the matter. It does not want to appear to be attacking an old man who wants nothing but rest, but the future of the country is at stake, and sentimentality is out of place in this regard.

Last month, when LA VOIE announced that the president had just undergone an operation, many people blamed us for not respecting an old man, because, as it seems in Africa, an old man is sacred and no one should touch him or even remind him that in a village, old men his age quit running the day-to-day affairs of the community.

To deny our report, the television made up a report showing a lively and active president, walking down four stairs at a time, in his Paris residence. We were even told he would return in the days following that fabricated report. Since then, we have scrutinized the sky very often, but we have not yet heard the slightest purring of a Concorde aircraft engine. Latest reports have it that in his current state, Mr. Houphouet-Boigny cannot travel by plane.

The relapse in his health is said to have been caused by the September television report, so we will have to wait a while for his return. He had hoped to be back and to personally announce the good news of increased coffee prices to farmers, but God has decided otherwise. Will he come for his birthday celebration? That is not certain. In Cote d'Ivoire, life goes on, calmly but disturbingly.

Nigeria

Abiola's SDP To Boycott February Elections

AB1310110993 Paris AFP in English 1022 GMT 13 Oct 93

[Excerpts] Lagos, 13 Oct (AFP)—The party of Moshood Abiola, the presumed winner of a June presidential poll, voted to boycott a new election the Nigerian interim government has scheduled for February 19, newspapers reported Wednesday.

A communique issued after a two-day meeting of the Social Democratic Party's national officials, which ended in Jos in the central Plateau State on Tuesday [12 October], said Abiola "freely and fairly won the presidential election" on June 12.

Until he is sworn in "we shall not take part in any registration of voters, any primaries or any elections, at any level whatsoever."

Abiola, who has been touring the country since September to urge recognition of the June vote, was at the meeting, as were the speakers of the two houses of the National Assembly, Iyorchia Ayu of the Senate and Agunwa Anaekwe of the House of Representatives. [passage omitted]

"Until the results of the June 12 presidential election are released and that election process completed justly, democratically and lawfully, all the members of the SDP will not participate in any election or any activities connected with any election," the communique said. It also charged that a commission of enquiry set up by Shonekan to investigate the annulment of the June vote was only "an attempt by the interim national government to buy time and confuse SDP members and supporters."

The commission, which has no binding legal power, was to submit its findings within two months. The statement urged the interim government to "suspend the programme of the future election" before any enquiry is conducted.

The interim government's mandate runs to March 31 when it is to transfer powers to a democratically elected president.

In other developments, the interim government has released 45 million naira (about two million dollars at the official exchange rate) to allow the Nigerian parliament in Abuja to resume work within the next two weeks, newspaper reports said.

The National Assembly has been on a forced break since late August because of a lack of funds to finance the hotel bills for the 684 legislators in the capital—where most do not live.

The sum is enough for only one week, however, and if new funds are not found, the parliament will have to go into recess again.

Abiola's party had questioned the alleged lack of funds, asserting that it is a "pretext" by the government to suspend the country's only current democratically elected body.

Association Threatens Court Action To Prevent Elections

AB1110192593 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

[Text] The Association for a Better Nigeria says it will return to court to prevent any election if the interim national government fails to address the issue of cleansing the country's political and electoral system. The chairman, Chief Arthur Nzeribe, made the threat at a news conference in Abuja today. He said Nigeria must borrow a lead from countries like India and Italy where cleansing of corrupt political and electoral process had

given birth to a durable political culture. He called on all Nigerians and the two political parties to participate in the inquiry into circumstances surrounding the nullification of the June 12 election.

General Says Government Not To Withdraw From ECOMOG

AB1010192093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 10 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Four more African countries are to contribute troops to the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peace-keeping operation in Liberia. They are Egypt, Zambia, Uganda, and Tanzania. The new ECOMOG field commander, Major General John Shagaya announced this in Lagos shortly before he left to assume duty in Monrovia.

Gen. Shagaya said the troops will join the contingents from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Guinea to embark on the process of disarming and encamping all the warring factions in the Liberian conflict. He expressed the hope that the successful implementation of the program will lead to the holding of an election to choose a generally acceptable government. The ECOMOG field commander appealed to journalists covering the peace monitoring operations to ensure that only accurate reports were published.

Meanwhile, Nigeria has stated that she will not take unilateral decision to withdraw her troops from ECOMOG. The new ECOMOG field commander Major General John Shagaya made the clarification in Lagos during an interview with airport correspondent [name indistinct].

Gen. Shagaya was reacting to reports credited to the head of state, Chief Ernest Shonekan, that Nigeria will soon embark on a gradual withdrawal of her troops from ECOMOG. He explained that whatever decision the country was going to take would be within the context of the Cotonou peace accord signed in July by the leaders of ECOWAS.

Gen. Shagaya explained that the leaders had already worked out a program which would lead to the withdrawal of all the forces. On the general situation in Monrovia the ECOMOG field commander said that normal activities were being restored. He attributed this to the willingness of the warring factions to observe the Cotonou cease-fire agreement. [passage omitted]

Government Suspends Oil Officials for Alleged Fraud

AB0910114093 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Text] The interim national government has suspended from office some principal officers of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, NNPC. They include Dr. Edmund Dakuru, group managing director, and Chief Oru Okwara, group executive director of finance and accounts. In a statement in Lagos yesterday, the secretary

for petroleum resources, Chief Don Etiebet, explained that the action followed certain developments, which he said bordered on dereliction of duty and alleged fraud. Meanwhile, the government has approved Mr. (Chambas Oyibo) to act as group managing director, and Mr. (Wilfred Eza) of the Federal Ministry of Finance as acting group executive director, finance and accounts, until further notice.

Government Urges ROK To Resume Petroleum Trade

AB0910114593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 9 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Nigeria has called on the Republic of Korea to resume the lifting of its petroleum, which it suspended a year ago. The proposal was intended as one of the measures to correct the trade imbalance between Nigeria and South Korea. The secretary for commerce and tourism, Chief Bola Kuforiji-Olubi, made the call when she paid a courtesy call to the Korean minister of trade, industry and energy, Mr. Kim Chol-su. [passage omitted]

Need To Extend Interim Government's Tenure Stressed

AB1110215093 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English 1700 GMT 11 Oct 93

["In Focus" commentary by Abdul Karim al-Bashir]

[Text] From the utterances of well-meaning Nigerians the need for urgent steps to be taken to extend the tenure of the interim national government [ING] led by Chief Shonekan cannot be reasonably ignored. As it has been stated in this program, while the goodwill behind limiting the tenure of the interim government was never in doubt, there however appears to be a bickering on Euro-American pressure in taking a decision to that effect.

Granted that this is true, we need to bear in mind that we are in a better position to know what we want for ourselves than what foreigners want for us. Their hypocritical shouting about democracy is being used as a vehicle to service their interests. The same countries are today happy about the mass murder of legislators in the Russian Republic.

What this means is that these democracy hypocrites are prepared at all times to murder democracy if this will achieve their goal. They did it in Algeria as they are doing it in Zaire and in a number of other countries. To them the only meaning democracy has is the installation of a person that will service their interests. Their different approaches to the events in Bosnia and Somalia, respectively, bear this out.

Having known their hypocrisy, we should move ahead to do what we know is right for us, and what is right for us to do at the moment is to extend the life of the ING without looking back. With the champions of destruction parading themselves as pro-democrats, who are the chief promoters of the destructive Euro-American interests in our country, it is not reasonably feasible, nor is it advisable, to hold the presidential elections in February. Of course, we were able to hold primary and presidential elections a few months after the original one [as heard] was disrupted in November 1992 only because of the maturity of those affected by the events of the cancellation exercise. Such is not the case now where emotion has taken over from tolerance and accommodation.

In the circumstance, it would be politically unwise to talk about holding elections in February. The ING, as has been repeated by many, should be used as an opportunity to take a critical look at some of our past pitfalls with a view to rectifying them. For instance, how feasible is it for us to continue with the current members of our legislative houses after the expiration of the tenure of office of the present members? How best could we redress the complaints of marginalization from various quarters? Can the existing party structure hold us together? What of the system itself? Is the 1989 Constitution suitable for our aspirations in view of our recent experience? Is there a need for a rotation of presidency or presidential (?process) or not?

There are so many questions that need answers and some of which must be adequately answered to ensure the stability of the future. It is strongly believed that the period of the Shonekan administration offers the best opportunity to take a critical look at these issues through the National Assembly and other ad hoc arrangements. Even if Chief Abiola comes in today some of these questions would have to be answered before they become more complicated during his period. To answer them requires time; so also the needed institutional arrangement required to effect the likely changes. Thus, we should not see the ING put in place only to conduct hurried elections but as an arrangement to enable us look beyond its tenure.

The enormity of the task is such that we must be reasonable and objective enough to extend the life span of the interim administration to fall in line with the tenure of the National Assembly. Many will rightly argue that this would be too long. But if reflected deeply, it would be found out that we need a (?stronger) national foundation in the light of our current experiences to serve as an everlasting pillar of democracy for the perfection of future goals.

In this regard, the National Assembly is hereby called up to take appropriate steps to extend the life span of the Shonekan administration. If the legislators really love this country, then they have no option but to carry out this national assignment in the greater interest of the fatherland.

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